PHŒNIC

BY

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PHŒNICES, SOLERS HOMINUM GENUS ET AD BELLI PACISQUE MUNIA EXIMIUM; LITERAS ET LITERARUM OPERA, ALIASQUE ETIAM ARTES, MARIA NAVIBUS ADIRE, CLASSE CONFLIGERE, IMPERITARE GENTIBUS, COMMENTI.—*Pomp. Mela*, 1, 12.

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PREFACE.

In the Preface to my Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, it was announced that the continuation would include Syria and Phœnicia. It has been found, however, that Phœnicia alone afforded ample materials for a volume, and the two countries have hardly any historical connexion with each other. Indeed the history of Syria, if we exclude Judæa and Phœnicia, is little more than that of the kingdom of Damascus. It has never had any political unity except when subject to a foreign power. Even the history of the kingdom of Damascus, notwithstanding the primæval antiquity of the city, is confined to the dynasty of Rezon and the Benhadads, and its relations to the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Till the time of the Macedonian Conquest, Syria Proper has scarcely any place in the general history of the world.

There are two authors, an intimate acquaintance with whose works must be presumed on the part of every one who undertakes to write on Phœnicia. Samuel Bochart, the Protestant minister of Caen, was one of

the most eminent examples of that all-embracing erudition which distinguished the scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To a familiarity with Greek and Roman literature which nothing escaped, even though buried in scholiasts and lexicographers, he joined a profound knowledge of Hebrew and the kindred languages. The most diligent reader of the ancient authors, with a view to the illustration of Phœnician history, will find himself anticipated or surpassed by Bochart. Of his great work, the 'Geographia Sacra,' the first part, which bears the title of *Phaleg*, treats of the dispersion of mankind, and their division into races, after the Deluge, including, under the head of Canaan, some of the principal towns of Phœnicia. The second, entitled *Canaan*, treats of the colonies and language of the Phœnicians[1].

Whatever industry and learning could accomplish, was effected by Bochart. But his conclusions require to be carefully examined. He has been misled by the opinion very prevalent in his day, and occasionally revived in our own, that the heathen deities were the personages of patriarchal history and ethnography—that Saturn was Noah; Jupiter-Ammon, Ham; the Pythian Apollo, Phut; Mercury, Canaan; and Bacchus, Nimrod. Believing the Bible-Hebrew to be the primæval language, he concluded that it must be the

[1] Some confusion arises from the circumstance that Phaleg and Canaan are both called Geographia Sacra. I have generally cited them as Parts 1 and 2.

foundation of all others, and from slight analogies and by forced changes etymologized from it Greek and Latin words whose roots belong to a very different family. Countries on which the Phœnicians could have exercised no influence were supposed to have derived their names from them. His materials too were wholly literary; no Phœnician inscription or coin had then been deciphered. All that he knew of the Phœnician language was derived from the corrupt passage in the Pœnulus of Plautus, and a few words preserved by the Fathers or the grammarians. He had rightly concluded that it was the same with the Hebrew, but could not be aware of those specialties which the monuments disclose, and the knowledge of which is necessary to a sound use of etymology.

The literary materials for Phœnician history remain nearly the same as they were in the days of Bochart. No Herculanean papyrus, no palimpsest MS. has restored to us a fragment of Dius or Menander, or the other writers whom Josephus consulted and compared with Scripture. Subsidiary sources, however, have greatly multiplied. Since the middle of the eighteenth century, inscriptions have been deciphered and illustrated by a long succession of critics. The traditions of the ancients, respecting the wide diffusion of the Phœnician colonies, have been confirmed by the discovery of their monuments, where these traditions lead us to expect that they would be found. The works of my honoured teacher, Heeren, first assigned

to commerce its due place in the history of ancient nations. Phœnician commerce, in its wonderful extent and variety, has been illustrated from the works of travellers in the countries whose productions filled the marts of Sidon and Tyre. Our enlarged knowledge of other ancient nations has indirectly thrown light on the history of Phœnicia. A freer spirit of criticism on the geographical and historical portions of the Jewish Scriptures has enabled us better to appreciate their true use, in correcting or supplying the accounts of heathen writers.

The works of Movers[1], Professor in the University of Breslau, exhibit a complete view of the present state of our knowledge respecting Phœnicia and the progress which has been made since the days of Bochart. No scholar of the present day is so thoroughly versed in its palæography and philology. The numerous references to his writings in the present volume, especially for the interpretation of the Pœnulus of Plautus and the Tablet of Marseilles, are an acknowledgement of the benefit which I have derived from his labours. From his historical conclusions I have often found myself compelled to dissent, as he appears to me to push inferences from analogy to an unsafe extent, and to attribute too much historical value to a late and interpolated mythology.

[1] Article *Phönizien*, Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopädie, P. 24, p. 319–443. Die Phönizier, vol. 1, 1841; vol. 2, P. 1, 1849; vol. 2, P. 2, 1850. It is to be regretted that this work is still incomplete. Phönizische Texte: Erster Theil, Der Pœnulus des Plautus, 1845. Zweiter Theil, Commentar zur Opfertafel von Marseille, 1847.

Perhaps, instead of assigning a reason for allowing less weight than Movers to mythology, as a source of history, I may have to justify myself to some of my readers, for endeavouring to extract from it any historical element; for admitting the mythe of Cadmus and his search for Europa as an evidence of Phœnician colonization of the Grecian islands and continent, or that of Hercules and his western expedition as a proof of the early intercourse between the Tyrians and the coasts of northern Africa and southern Spain. Those who are accustomed to deal with periods of history to which contemporaneous written records belong, are apt to regard mythes as mere *lusus ingenii*, as naturalists once considered fossil shells to be *lusus naturæ*, produced by no fixed law[1]. This is to confound mythe with fable. To the latter class belong cosmogonies, theogonies, tales of a golden age, names and localities of the inventors of the primary arts of life, or of the elementary means of recording events. They reveal nothing to us but the speculations of later times. Hence the primæval history of nations, in the strictest sense, can never be recovered. But from the ages which intervened between the commencement of a nation's existence and its first written records, much may surely have been preserved—events which lived in tradition—material facts such as monuments,

[1] See Mr. Grote's History of Greece, vol. 1. Sir G. Cornewall Lewis's Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History.

customs, religious rites. Imagination no doubt has been at work in the construction of the mythes to which these facts have given birth; but even imagination is not a wholly capricious and unaccountable faculty; when its productions assume a definite form, they presuppose a definite cause. Mythic legends cannot indeed be converted into history by the simple process of divesting them of their supernatural element; but if we seize the true point of view from which they are to be considered, there is much historical knowledge to be gained from them. I will venture to quote what I have elsewhere written on this subject[1]:—"They are proofs of the existence of a certain popular belief, and the circumstances which gave rise to it may be historical, though not the story in which it has been embodied. We may discard from our minds all faith in the personality and adventures of Cadmus; there will still remain the fact that the Greeks believed themselves to owe some of their gods and their civilization to Phœnicia; and this belief could not have arisen had there not been strong marks of affinity between their arts and religion, and deep traces of an early intercourse." Had the legends in question been the work of fancy, inventing or combining according to its own caprice, whence such consistency in the names? Why not Theseus for Cadmus, or Bacchus for Hercules? I can see no reason for this consistency, except that the

[1] Essay on Primæval History, p. 90.

historic basis of the legend has determined the form of the superstructure through every stage of its elevation. If we confine ourselves to such general inferences as these, there is little danger of our mistaking imagination for fact. If, on the other hand, we resolve to admit nothing that has once had a mythic ingredient, however cautiously eliminated, we must suppose events of the greatest magnitude to have occurred, without leaving any traces by which their existence can be proved. We deprive ourselves of much knowledge, which, though it does not amount to certainty, renders the commencement of history, which would otherwise be unintelligible, probable and consistent.

The paucity of Phœnician monuments, even those which we possess having been found in the colonies, not in Phœnicia itself, and the entire want of specimens of architecture, sculpture, painting, and manufacturing art, is a perpetual source of regret to the historian. Phœnician archæology is almost an entire blank. Yet its materials must exist beneath the soil, or in the unexplored districts of the country in which letters originated, and where art was plied with such activity for many centuries. Alexander's mole cannot be buried at an unattainable depth below the sandy isthmus which it has created. The sites of Tyre and Sidon, explored with the same care as those of Babylon and Nineveh, would bring to light the foundations of ancient buildings, if not palace-walls with

historical inscriptions, paintings and bas-reliefs. The barrows of the unlettered Celt and Saxon have furnished arms, implements and trinkets to our museums; but no Phœnician sepulchre has yet supplied a relic of antiquity to illustrate the manners and history of the nation. It is to be hoped that this state of things will not long continue. The discovery of authentic monuments might give a new aspect to Phœnician history, as it has already done to that of Egypt and Assyria.

York, May 1855.

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tion of philosophy.—The Law school of Berytus.—Marinus of Tyre, his improvements in geography.—Tyre made a *metropolis* by Hadrian.—War between Septimius Severus and Niger, and burning of Tyre.—Colony settled there by Severus.—Berytus also a Roman colony, but of an earlier date.—The earthquake there, and removal of the Law school to Sidon.—Conquest of Phœnicia by the Caliphs in the seventh century.—Their sway mild and tolerant, and did not injure the prosperity of the country.

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MAPS AND PLATES.

Map to illustrate the Geography of Phœnicia and the adjacent countries.

Topography of Tyre.

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PHŒNICIA.

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST.

THE name Phœnice or Phœnícia was sometimes given by the Greek and Roman writers to the whole of the narrow region which intervenes between the mountains of Syria joined to the hills of Palestine, on the east, and the Mediterranean on the west, which from Cilicia to Egypt bore the name of the Phœnician Sea[1]. In its largest acceptation, therefore, it extended from the Gulf of Issus, which separates Syria from Cilicia, to the Desert between Egypt and Palestine, as exhibited in the Map which accompanies this work; but historically it was more restricted. According to Herodotus, it began on the north at the Bay of Myriandrus, and terminated in the south, where

[1] Plin. 5, 12. Qui subtilius dividunt, circumfundi Syria Phœnicen volunt; et esse oram maritimam Syriæ, cujus pars sit Idumæa et Judæa. Id quod præjacet mare totum, Phœnicium appellatur.

Judæa touched the sea-coast, that is, southward of the promontory of Carmel[1]. But although Myriandrus, on the southern side of the Gulf of Issus, as we learn from Xenophon[2], was inhabited by Phœnicians, who had settled there for the purposes of trade, the political union of Phœnician states never extended so far. Strabo defines it as the coast from Orthosia to Pelusium[3]. Guided by natural boundaries, we should take the Casian mountain, which forms the southern extremity of the bay into which the Orontes falls, as the limit of Phœnicia to the north. The prolongation of this mountain to the sea is the bold promontory of Cape Possidi, and by its geological structure, in which rocks of plutonic origin abound, giving to its summits a sharp and pyramidal form, it resembles Taurus and Amanus, more than Lebanon and the hills of Palestine. The chalk covers its southern edge. Its sides are clothed, like those of Taurus, with forest trees, which belong to the growth of Southern Europe rather than of Syria; and even now it forms the line of demarcation between the Turkish language on the north and the Syriac and Arabic on the south[4]. The highest summit, which rises 5300 feet above the sea, seems from its conical form even loftier than it really is, and in ancient times was specially consecrated to the worship of the Casian Jupiter, and crowned by a celebrated temple dedicated

[1] 7, 89; 4, 38; 3, 4; where, though the reading is doubtful and the construction involved, "the boundaries of the city Cadytis" appear to mean the southern limit of the sea-coast of Judæa.

[2] Cyr. Exp. 1, 4, 6. Μυρίανδρον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον.

[3] Strabo, p. 756. Ἡ ἀπὸ Ὀρθωσίας μέχρι Πηλουσίου παραλία Φοινίκη καλεῖται.

[4] Russegger, Reisen, 1, 1, 419. 435. 358.

to him, from which it was said that the disk of the sun was visible as early as the second cock-crowing, that is, two hours before its rising as seen from the base[1].

The projection of the coast on which stands Posidium (Cape Possidi), continues as far as Laodicea in N. lat. 35° 30′, and here were the towns of Heraclea, Diospolis and Charadrus (the two latter of uncertain site), whose names sufficiently indicate that they are of Greek, and not Phœnician foundation[2]. Laodicea (now Latakia) derived its name from the mother of Seleucus Nicator, and was colonized by him with Greeks, but its older name was Phœnician, Ramantha[3], and an inscription to a Phœnician merchant at Delos, describes Laodicea as in Phœnicia[4]. A coin, probably of *this* Laodicea, and not of the town of the same name in Cœlesyria[5], bears the inscription, "Laodicea, a metropolis of Canaan," *i.e.* of Phœnicia. The coast is exposed to the wind and swell; but there was an inner harbour, now in great measure filled up, capable of affording shelter to a considerable number of the small vessels of the ancients[6]. The river on which Laodicea stands is called Nahr-el-Kebir, and has been sometimes confounded with a more southern river of the same name, the ancient Eleutherus. The whole region, as far as Tripolis, was fertile, and the hills covered to the summit with vineyards, whose produce was exported

[1] Plin. 5, 22. Amm. Marc. 22, 32. Casium montem adscendit, nemorosum et tereti ambitu in sublime porrectum, unde secundis gallicinius videtur primi solis exortus.

[2] Plin. 5, 20. Heraclea however is reckoned in Phœnicia by Steph. Byz. s. v.

[3] Ῥαμάν ἐγχώριον τὸ ὕψος, ἀθάν δὲ (אדן) ὁ θέος. Eust. ad Dion. Perieg. 915.

[4] Movers, die Phonizier, V. 2. P. 1. p. 118.

[5] Gesen. Mon. Phœnic 1, 270. Movers, u. s.

[6] See the Plan in Report on Steam Navigation to India, Pl. 2.

to Egypt[1]. Beyond Laodicea, the coast, which, from Cape Possidi has trended to the S.W., takes a direction to the S.E. At the distance of eighteen Roman miles, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, was Gabala, now Jebilee, in the name of which we trace the Hebrew and Phœnician *Gebel*, a hill[2]. A female deity named Doto had a temple here, in which the peplus was shown, for the sake of which Eriphyle planned the death of her husband Amphiaraus[3]. Twenty-seven miles to the south of Laodicea was Balanea, whose name is also probably Phœnician. It was in later times considered the northern limit of Phœnicia, and in the Crusades was the boundary between the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch. The site of Paltos was probably on a small bay, near the mouth of the Nahr-el-Mulk or Melk, six miles to the south of Jebilee, the Badas of the ancients, beside which Memnon was said to have been buried[4].

Between Laodicea and Jebilee the country is mountainous, but from Jebilee extends a plain, bounded by the Ansairian or Nasairieh mountains, the ancient Bargylus, steep yet not abrupt, which form the western side of the valley through which the Orontes runs. This plain was the territory dependent upon Aradus[5]. Aradus, which retains traces of its ancient name in *Ruad*[6], was a rocky island distant twenty stadia (two miles and a half) from the continent, and seven stadia

[1] Strabo, 16, 751. Chesney, 1, 449.

[2] Ezek. 27, 9. "The ancients of Gebal and the wise men thereof were thy calkers," is by some referred to this town, by others to Byblus. The Roman mile was 306 feet shorter than the English.

[3] Paus. 2, 1, 7.

[4] Simonides in Strabo, 728. Some ruins here still bear the name of Baldeh. Ritter, 17, p. 888.

[5] Ἡ τῶν Ἀραδίων παραλία, according to the conjecture of Casaubon for παλαιά. Strabo, 16, p. 753.

[6] In Hebrew ארוד. Ezek. 27, 8. 11.

in length[1]. It was entirely covered with buildings, which rose to a great height, each stage constituting a distinct mansion, and the agora was the only open space within the walls[2]. Traces of these walls, consisting of blocks of immense size, appear in various places, and they are attributed with probability to the Phœnician times. Recent excavations have brought to light vessels of glass and bronze, images of the goddess Astarte and sarcophagi of burnt clay[3]. Aradus had two small harbours open to the N.E., but it is probable that Karnos or Karne on the mainland and a little to the north, was its chief port and arsenal. Lycophron, who affects ancient forms, calls the pirates who carried off Io from Argos, Karnites[4]. Its mariners were among the most skilful of the Phœnician coast; at the present day its inhabitants are nearly all sailors and shipwrights. The island contained no fountain, and if an enemy had possession of the opposite coast and the strait, the inhabitants depended for a supply on the tanks in which they collected the rain-water, the excavations for which are still visible; ordinarily however they had an abundant source of fresh water in a submarine spring, which rose from a depth of fifty cubits in the mid-channel of the strait. Strabo describes the contrivance by which it was obtained. A long leather hose was fitted at its lower

[1] Plin. 5, 20. Strabo, 753. There is some error in Pliny's text. Scylax (104) makes the distance from the shore only eight stadia. Wilson, Lands of the Bible (2, 402), says the circumference is 1500 paces. It has probably diminished like Tyre, from the effect of the earthquakes to which this whole coast is subject Shaw's Travels, 2, 21.

[2] I take this to be the sense of Strabo's expression (p. 753), *πολυορόφους οἰκοῦσι τὰς οἰκίας*. "Arados in Phœnice est parva, et quantum patet tota, oppidum, frequens tamen quia etiam super aliena tecta sedem ponere licet." Pomp. Mela, 2, 7, 47.

[3] Walpole, The Ansayrieh, 3, 410. Chesney, 1, 451.

[4] Cass. 1291.

extremity with a hemisphere of lead, which being let down over the mouth of the spring excluded the sea-water, and the fresh water rose in the leather pipe and was received in a vessel floating on the surface. The limestone rocks, of which the coast is composed, abound in cavities, and in one of these, sufficiently elevated to give the necessary hydraulic pressure, a reservoir had formed itself, communicating with the submarine opening. A similar phænomenon[1] in the harbour of Syracuse gave rise to the beautiful mythe of Arethusa. There was also a watering place on the shore, now called Ein-el-Hye, the Fountain of the Serpent, answering probably to the Enydra of Strabo[2]. Marathus was nearly opposite to Aradus, and in the age of Alexander was a large and populous town[3]; in the time of Strabo it had fallen into decay, having been destroyed and its territory partitioned by the Aradians. The country is beautiful, and though generally level, varied in its surface. Opposite to Aradus are the remains of the only constructed temple hitherto discovered in Phœnicia. It is an open quadrangular enclosure excavated in the rock, having in the centre a kind of throne, formed of blocks, and apparently designed for the joint worship of two divinities, Astarte and Baal or Melkarth[4]. About five miles to the south are a number of structures with square bases, round

[1] Lucr. Rer. Nat, 6, 890; where from the corrupt reading *mari sparat*, and the breviate of the margin, critics have restored

Quod genus, indu mari est Aradio fons dulcis aquai,
Qui scatit et salsas circum se dimovet undas.

Plin. 5, 34, 2. Smyth (Medit. p. 140) mentions many similar phænomena.

[2] Strabo, p. 753. Pococke's Travels, 2, 203. Shaw, 2, 21.

[3] Arrian, 2, 13. Coins of Marathus are extant with the inscription מרת. Gesenius, M. Phoen. 272.

[4] Gerhard, Kunst der Phönicier, p. 7.

shafts and round or pointed summits, which had probably some destination, connected with the ancient religion of Phœnicia[1]. Hypogæa are found beneath them and in their neighbourhood, containing sepulchral niches designed for the reception of sarcophagi.

The whole coast between Aradus and Tripolis forms a bay, into which several rivers fall having a short course from the mountains. The portion nearest to Aradus is a plain, near the extremity of which stands Simyra, the seat of the Zemarites enumerated among the descendants of Canaan (Gen. 10, 18). Strabo, we have seen, makes Orthosia and the river Eleutherus to be the boundary between Phœnicia proper and the district of Seleukis, which lay between it and the mouth of the Orontes[2]. Now as Aradus politically belonged to Phœnicia, we should naturally look for Orthosia and the Eleutherus to the north of it; and the Peutinger Table places the Eleutherus between Balanea and Antaradus. A few miles north of Ruad (Aradus) is a town bearing the name of Tartus or Tortosa, which has been considered to represent Orthosia. But this name, which Edrisi spells Antartous, appears to be a corruption of Antaradus[3]. The walls of the castle are built on ancient foundations of Phœnician workmanship, consisting of large blocks of stone, bevelled at the joints. The quarries whence these blocks were cut appear to have served also as a cemetery for the people of Aradus and the towns on

[1] Maundrell, p. 28. Gerhard, u. s. Pococke, 2, 202.

[2] Strabo, 16, p. 753. 756. Antony gave to Cleopatra all the towns from Egypt to the Eleutherus, except Tyre and Sidon. Jonathan accompanied Ptolemy from Joppa to the Eleutherus, evidently as a boundary. Joseph. Ant. 13, 4, 5. 1 Macc. 12, 30.

[3] Ptol. 5, 14. Antaradus vulgari appellatione Tortosa vocatur. Will. Tyr. 7, 17.

the opposite coast[1]. Strabo, however, proceeding southward in his enumeration, mentions Orthosia and the Eleutherus *after* Marathus, and passes from Orthosia to Tripolis. Pliny, proceeding in the opposite direction, places Orthosia and the Eleutherus between Tripolis and Marathus. Hence the river Eleutherus is probably the Nahr-el-Kebir, about twelve miles south of Ruad. The name, indicating a great river, is more naturally connected with a boundary. It is a considerable stream even in summer, and in the rainy season it is a barrier to intercourse, caravans sometimes remaining encamped for several weeks on its banks, unable to cross[2].

The northern side of Lebanon descends precipitously into the valley of the Nahr-el-Kebir[3], and here the name of Lebanon ceases, the mountains to the north are the residence of two tribes of singular and mysterious character. The Ismaeli, who inhabit the southern portion, are a remnant of the Assassins; the creed of the Nasairieh or Ansairieh appears, as far as it is known, to be a compound of the religion of Mahomet with Judaism, Christianity and Paganism. One of the affluents of the Nahr-el-Kebir is the "Sabbatical River," which according to the belief of the Jews suspended its flow on the Sabbath[4]. It is an intermittent stream, not uncommon in districts of similar geological structure, whose peculiarity has been exaggerated by superstition. Shaw, who considers the Nahr-el-Barid, which is about eight miles north of Tripolis, as the Eleutherus, alleges, that on its north bank are the

[1] Thomson, Bibl. Sac. 5, 247.

[2] Burckhardt, Syria, 161. Chesney, 1, 450.

[3] Russegger, 1, 1, 418.

[4] Joseph Bell. Jud. 7, 5. Lyde, p 250.

remains of a considerable town called Ortosa. This would be decisive, if the fact were certain, but the name is not confirmed by other travellers[1]. The Peutinger Table places Orthosia twelve Roman miles from Tripolis, but it seems to have given its name to a district which extended northward to the Eleutherus[2], and hence some vagueness has arisen.

Arka, five miles south of Orthosia and nearer to the mountains, was the abode of the Arkites (Gen. 10, 18). It is built on the summit of a hill, forming part of the northern extremity of Lebanon which here terminates abruptly[3]. From its position it enjoys a wide view over the plain; fragments of rich columns and entablatures are found here[4], attesting its splendour in the times of the Romans, under whom it had the name of Cæsarea ad Libanum. The Bruttus of the Jerusalem Itinerary, placed between Arka and Tripolis, probably derived its name from the Nahr-el-Barid, already mentioned.

The promontory on which Tripolis stands (now Tarabolus), in lat. 34° 26′, is half a mile broad, and extends about a mile into the sea. Its site is well adapted for a haven, as a chain of seven small islands, running out to the N.W., affords shelter in the direction whence the most violent winds blow. They extend to the distance of ten miles from the shore[5]; on that nearest to the land are traces of ancient dwellings and a deep well. The river on which Tripolis stands, called el-Kadisha, the Holy, rises in Lebanon near the convent of Cannobin, the residence of the Patriarch of

[1] Pococke, 2, 205 Shaw, 2, 26

[2] In Strabo, 16, 753, we should probably read Ὀρθωσιάς for Ὀρθωσίας. See Groskurd, ad loc.

[3] Russegger, Reisen, 1, 1, 429.

[4] Burckhardt, Syria, p 162.

[5] Burckhardt, u s.

the Maronites, where the remains of the ancient forest of cedars is found, and being joined by two smaller streams, flows through a beautiful valley to the sea. An aqueduct of uncertain age brings the water from Lebanon to the town. Tripolis owes its name to the circumstance of its having been founded by a colony or colonies from the three towns of Tyre, Sidon and Aradus, each of which had its separate quarter[1], divided from the others by an interval of a stadium. A wall which crossed the isthmus[2] may have been the boundary between two of them. South of Tripolis, a low range of chalk hills, having a general direction towards the S.W., borders so closely on the sea, that there is no ground susceptible of cultivation and no room for a road between them. They rise into the bold promontory of Theu-prosopon, now Ras-es-Shekah, which the ancients considered as the most northern point of Lebanon on the coast[3]. Kulman, between Tripolis and Theu-prosopon, retains the name of the ancient Calamos, and the ruins of Enfeh probably represent the fortress of Trieris[4]. This rugged coast with its mountainous interior afforded a convenient station to robbers and pirates. In the confusion which intervened between the decline of the power of the Seleucidæ and the conquest of Syria and Palestine by the Romans, the Ituræans had possessed themselves of the fastnesses of Lebanon and the towns on the shore. Pompey beheaded one of their leaders in Byblus[5].

[1] Scylax, 104. Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τρεῖς πόλεις καὶ περίβολον ἑκάστῃ τοῦ τείχους ἴδιον ἔχον. Diod. 16, 41 Mela, 1, 12.

[2] Pococke, Travels, 2, 100.

[3] Strabo, 16, p. 754. Plin. 5, 20. Lepsius (Br 402) observes that, seen from the north, this promontory assumes the appearance of a bust.

[4] Pococke, 2, 99. Strabo, u. s.

[5] Strabo, 16, p. 755.

South of Theu-prosopon the chalk hills recede a little from the sea, and at the distance of seven miles on a narrow strip of land stands Batroun, the ancient Botrys. Little mention is made of this place in antiquity; its harbour was formed by excavating the rock for a hundred paces, so as to make it into a sea-wall[1]; it was much improved by a violent earthquake in the reign of Justinian, which threw down a large portion of a cliff and thus sheltered its entrance[2]. The road leads hence along the shore to Gebal, which derived its name from the hill on which it stood. The name was changed by the Greeks to Byblus, and from the coincidence of this with the name of the papyrus a multitude of legends were framed[3]. It gave its name to the land of the Giblites, mentioned as part of the destined territory of the Jews by Joshua (13, 5), and is probably the Gebal of Ezekiel (27, 9)[4]. The people of Gebal appear to have been skilful in masonry, as well as in navigation, and the word rendered "stone-squarers," 1 Kings, 5, 18 (*Heb.* 5, 32), is Giblites. Some of the stones among the ruins are 20 feet long, and bevelled in the manner characteristic of the Phœnicians[5]. The river Ibrim, which descends from Lebanon, a little to the south of Byblus, is the Adonis, which was said to be annually changed into blood; and according to Maundrell, it still assumes in summer a red colour, derived perhaps from the ferruginous sands of the mountains[6]. Aphaca, a chief seat of the licentious

[1] Burckhardt, Syria, 178.

[2] Is. Voss. not. ad Pomp. Mel. 1, 12, 12.

[3] Eust. ad Dion. Perieg. 912.

[4] Euseb. Onom. Βύβλος, πόλις Φοινίκης ἐν Ἰεζεκίηλ ἀνθ' οὗ τὸ Ἑβραϊκὸν ἔχει Γόβελ. The Seventy render πρεσβύτεροι Βιβλίων in Ezek. 29, 9. The name occurs written גבל on a coin of a king of the age of Alexander the Great. Movers, 2, 1. p. 103.

[5] Thomson, Bibl. Sac. 5, 8.

[6] Pococke (2, 80) mentions a spring near Tyre, which has a red colour like the Adonis. The course

worship of the goddess Venus, abolished by Constantine, was in Lebanon near the source of the Adonis, and retains the name of Afka. Palai-byblus lay to the south of Byblus; its site is unknown, but as its name denotes an elevated situation, it must have been among the hills[1] which closely border the shore, and rise to the height of 1000 feet. Strabo places it after the Climax, which is the promontory, called Ras-Watta-Sillan, forming the northern extremity of the Bay of Kesruan; probably therefore it was between the Climax and the river Lycus. The Peutinger Table places it seven miles from Berytus, but does not give its distance from Byblus. From the steepness of the cliffs it was necessary to cut steps in them, and hence this promontory, about twelve miles north of Berytus, as well as another between Tyre and Ptolemais[2], obtained the name of Climax.

The southern extremity of the Bay of Kesruan is formed by another promontory called Ras-en-Nahr-el-Kelb, from the river which flows under it into the sea. Its ancient name, Lycus, signifies *wolf*; the modern Kelb, *dog*, probably from some fancied resemblance to these animals in the rocks near its mouth. It rises high up in the central ridge of Lebanon; and in its course "is absorbed in one of those caverns which are common in limestone districts, and rushes out again at some distance[3]. The bed of the river probably lay much higher in antehistoric times, and the geologist perceives marks of the action of the

of the Adonis from its source is almost unknown.

[1] Ptolemy, 5, 14, reckons Palaibyblus among the πόλεις μεσόγειοι. Strabo, 16, 755.

[2] Called specifically "the Climax of the Tyrians." Jos. Ant. 3, 5. Of the Climax between Byblus and Berytus, see Strabo, 754.

[3] Wilson, Lands of the Bible, 2, 414.

sea upon the rocks, far above its present level[1]; on the other hand, earthquakes have depressed the coast since its first occupation, and traces of submerged quarries are seen near the mouth of the river[2]. Strabo says it was navigated by the people of Aradus[3].

By following the Lycus upwards, the structure of this region is distinctly seen. It issues into the sea by a deep and narrow chasm, the nearly perpendicular walls of which are 200 feet high, and are composed of chalk belonging to the upper series. Higher up the lower chalk series emerges, and is succeeded by a sandstone formation[4], corresponding to the greensand of Europe, of various colours, and containing a large quantity of iron, usually in basins and depressions of the chalk. South of the valley of the Nahr-el-Kelb this sandstone abounds in strata of bituminous wood and brown coal, which have been worked in some places for the purpose of smelting the iron ore[5]. Above these rises the Jura limestone, which forms the Gebel-el-Sannin, the highest summit of Lebanon[6]. The anticlinal line, descending on the east to the valley of Bekaa, is much shorter, and the sandstone strata are scarcely visible.

The steep cliffs which form the southern side of the valley by which the Lycus discharges itself into the sea, must have been impassable to an army; and when the Egyptian sovereigns carried on wars in Palestine they appear to have made a road up the face of the rock. Its traces are still visible, and beside it

[1] Russegger, 3, 153.
[2] Bertou, Topographie de Tyr, p. 54.
[3] Strabo, 16, p. 755.
[4] Russegger, 1, 2, 767.
[5] Russegger, 1, 2, 689.
[6] Lebanon derived its name, which signifies *white* (לבן), from the colour of its limestone.

are three Egyptian tablets, on which the shield of Rameses II. (Sesostris) may be read, with dedications respectively to Ra, Ammon and Ptah, and the dates of the 4th and 10th years of his reign[1]. Near them are six tablets with figures of Assyrian kings, covered with inscriptions in the cuneiform character. Both figures and inscriptions are greatly defaced by time; but Colonel Rawlinson[2] thinks one monarch can be identified with the son of the founder of Khorsabad. This was the road by which for fifteen centuries communication was kept up between Berytus, Sidon and Tyre, and the cities north of the Lycus; and also between Damascus, the valley of Bekaa and the sea-coast. In the reign of M. Aurelius, a lower road, broader and of more gradual ascent, was made, and a tablet cut on the rock to commemorate the undertaking[3]. A still more recent inscription in Arabic characters, which have become illegible, was probably made in the fourteenth century of the Christian æra. The same reason which induced Egyptian and Assyrian monarchs to inscribe the rocky wall with records of their conquests, pointed out the shore of the Lycus to Antiochus, for the erection of a trophy of his victory over Indates, king of the Parthians[4].

Berytus, now Beirout[5], in lat. 33° 49′, stands on the river Magoras of Pliny, and the headland on which it is built is the most projecting point of the coast, and the greatest elongation of the plain which lies at

[1] Bonomi in Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 4to. Vol. 3, p. 105. Lepsius, Briefe, 402.

[2] Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, p. 90.

[3] Ritter, 17, 529.

[4] Joseph. Ant. 13, 8.

[5] It derived its name from the abundance of its wells. Heb. בארות putei. Steph. Byz. Βηρυτὸς ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ εὔυδρον· βὴρ γὰρ τὸ φρέαρ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς.

the foot of Lebanon along the shore from the south. It is here that this mountain range exhibits itself in the most impressive grandeur,—a welcome sight, far off at sea, to the Phœnician mariner, as he returned from his voyage of 2000 miles to Gades, equalling in length and exceeding in danger the circumnavigation of the globe in our days. It rises to the height of nearly 9000 feet, and stretches far away both to the north and south. The plain is covered with gentle undulations, and is of the highest fertility. The climate is of a medium temperature, between those of northern Syria and the southern coast of Palestine. The orange-tree and the mulberry grow luxuriantly; the palm flourishes, although it does not bear fruit; and, if the natives possessed the necessary skill, their wine might be as celebrated as that of Phœnicia in ancient times[1]. Seen from below, the sides of Lebanon appear uncultivated and bare; but it is full of villages, the inhabitants of which have with great labour carried up the soil from the plain and formed it into terraces[2]; and their industry would not be less in ancient times, when property and life were more secure. In its recesses are many ruins of temples, probably, however, of the Syro-Grecian and Roman, not the Phœnician times[3]. The antiquities of Berytus itself belong to the same age. Its traditions imply that it was one of the oldest of the Phœnician towns, but it is not mentioned in Scripture, nor in profane history, during the time that Tyre and Sidon flourished[4]. After being

[1] Herod. 3, 6.

[2] Volney, 1, 176, says he has counted from 100 to 120 of these terraces on the slope of a single mountain.

[3] Robinson, Bibl. Res. 3, 441 In one of these an inscription has been found—Jovi Bel Marcodi. Ritter, 17, 462.

[4] Πόλις Φοινίκης ἐκ μικρᾶς μεγάλη· κτίσμα Κρόνου. Steph. Byz. s v. It has been supposed to be

destroyed by Tryphon, it was made a colony under the name of Felix Julia by Augustus, and its harbour improved by the construction of a double mole in a crescent form, with towers on each extremity, from which a chain could be extended across the entrance[1]. In the imperial times it was celebrated as a school of law and science[2]; and in the reign of Justinian it was the most flourishing city of Phœnicia. The old harbour is sanded up, but the Bay of St. George eastward of the town is the most spacious and secure roadstead on the Syrian coast[3]; and as Beirout affords a ready communication with Damascus, it has drawn to itself nearly all the commerce from the west.

The plain in which Berytus stood extends southward ten miles to the mouth of the river Damour, the Tamyras of ancient geography. It is a stream in summer of moderate size, but when swollen by rain or melting snow, its rocky bed becomes an impetuous torrent, over which it has been found impossible to construct a bridge[4]. From the conformation of the country, the Adonis, the Lycus, and the Tamyras have their course from N.E. to S.W., while those between Botrys and Tripolis flow to the N.W. Beyond the Tamyras the hills again press closely on the sea[5], and a rugged district intervenes between this and the river of Sidon, which was the scene of warfare between Ptolemy Philopator and Antiochus in the year 218 B.C. Nicolaus, the general of Ptolemy, had taken post in the narrow pass

the Berothai of Scripture. 2 Sam. 8, 8. Ezek. 47, 16.

[1] Phocas, Itin. quoted by Berkelius ad Steph. Byz.

[2] See Cellarius, Geogr. 2, 378.

[3] Sir John Franklin's Report on Steam Navigation to India, p. 150.

[4] Russegg. 3, 149. Robinson, 3, 432.

[5] Τῆς κατὰ τὸν Λίβανον παρωρείας κατὰ τοὺς τόπους τούτους συγκλειούσης τὴν παραλίαν εἰς στενὸν καὶ βραχὺν τόπον. Polyb. 5, 69.

near Platanus[1], the site of which was probably at *Burj-ed-Damur*, a little south of the Tamyras, and at Porphyreon[2], probably *el Jijah*, while his fleet occupied the bay between them. Antiochus, however, with his light troops, made his way among the hills at the foot of Lebanon, and having thus turned the position of the Egyptians, drove them with great slaughter to Sidon. The river Bostrenus, now Auwaleh, descending from Lebanon, falls into the sea about two miles north of Sidon[3].

This ancient city of Phœnicia, "the eldest born of Canaan," stood, in lat. 33° 34′, on the N W. slope of a small promontory which runs into the sea, and its original harbour was formed by three low ridges of rocks with narrow openings between them parallel to the shore in front of the city. On these islands there are remains of massive substructions, the work of the ancient Phœnicians. There is a spacious but unprotected bay on the south of the promontory. The harbour was capable of containing fifty gallies in the time of Fakr-ed-Din, the celebrated Emir of the Druses in the beginning of the seventeenth century, who blocked up this and the other harbours of the coast, from Beirout to Acre, by sinking vessels filled with stone, in order to prevent the access of the Turkish fleet[4]; and ships are now compelled to anchor in the roadstead, which is dangerous, since the ground is

[1] Polyb. 5, 68. Joseph. Ant. 16, 1, 2.

[2] Scylax, 104.

[3] Strabo (756) places between Berytus and Sidon the Grove of Æsculapius and Leontopolis, the sites of which are unknown The former was probably near Berytus, as Æsculapius was one of the Cabiri worshiped at that place. Damasc. ap. Phot. Myriob. p. 1074. Pliny places Leontopolis between Berytus and the Lycus. H. N. 5, 20.

[4] Volney, 2, 122.

foul, and the N.W. wind would drive them upon the rocks[1]. No traces of the ancient city can be made out on the mainland; but at a short distance to the north are sepulchral grottos, which probably mark the necropolis. Those which have been explored by travellers are adorned with pilasters and paintings, and vases of terra-cotta have been found in them; they are therefore hardly the work of the ancient Phœnicians; but the site may be the same. The river Bostrenus waters the plain, which is about two miles in breadth, and of the highest fertility, producing the finest fruits in Syria[2]. It was the chief seat of commerce with Europe during the eighteenth century, but it is now greatly reduced, Beirout having taken its place, and the inhabitants of Saida have returned to the occupation of fishermen, whence the name of their city was derived. The plain of Sidon is prolonged as far as Sarepta, the Zarephath of the Old Testament[3], eight miles to the south, which stands on a rising ground near the sea, and shows the remains of ancient walls. Sepulchral grottos are found in the hills which border the plain: a modern village has taken the place of the original town. From Sarepta the plain again widens, and continues as far as Tyre. Adnon or Adloun (*ad nonum*), the ninth mile from Tyre, has been supposed to mark the site of the town of Ornithonpolis, which Strabo places between Tyre and Sidon[4]. The remains of ancient hypogæa and

[1] Pococke, 2, p. 86 See the plan of the harbour of Saida in Report on Steam Navigation to India, Pl. No. 3.

[2] Σιδῶν' ἀνθεμόεσσαν
Ναιομένην χαρίεντος ἐφ' ὕδασι Βοστρηνοῖο.
Dion. Perieg. 913.

[3] 1 Kings, 17, 9.

[4] Strabo, 16, p 758. Robinson, 3, 411.

other sepulchral monuments, have led to the supposition that it was the cemetery of ancient Tyre which stretched for seven miles along the coast. A stele resembling that of Rameses at the mouth of the Lycus, but more defaced, has also been found here[1]. A short distance from Adloun is seen a small monolithal temple of high antiquity, apparently dedicated to Astarte. Nearly the whole distance between these two cities, which is about twenty miles, is a plain with gentle undulations, its average width not more than two miles, but expanding to about five near Tyre. The hills which border it are low, and cultivated to the summit.

About five miles before entering Tyre, the plain is crossed by the river Kasimieh, which issues from a defile in the mountains. It is the only one on this coast which makes its way through the barrier of Lebanon to the sea, rising in the valley of Bekaa and passing through the gorge of the hills. It is precipitous and romantic till it issues on the plain, the valley in which it rises being 4000 feet[2] above the level of the sea. Down this valley, which is connected with the higher and colder regions at the foot of Lebanon, a stormy wind suddenly rushes which makes the navigation of this part of the coast dangerous[3]. In its course through the valley it is known by the name of el-Litani, but there can be no doubt that it is the same as the Kasimieh, though no one has traced it from the sea-shore upwards. It is presumed to be the same as the Leontes of the ancients, as the geographer Edrisi mentions a river *Lante*, between Sidon and Sarepta[4]. The topography of Tyre is too closely

[1] Bertou, Topographie de Tyr, p. 5, 85. Herod. 2, 106.

[2] Thomson in Ritter, 17, 139.

[3] Volney, 1, 202.

[4] Reland, Palestina, p. 985 Ptolemy (5, 14) places the Λέοντος

connected with its history, to be treated of in this general description, and will be resumed hereafter. The plain in which it stands, the widest of the whole coast, extends as far as the Ras-el-Abiad, or White Promontory, eight miles from Tyre. Its cliffs are of snow-white chalk with black flints, rising perpendicularly from the sea to the height of 300 feet[1]. The road, which in some places impends over the surge[2], has been cut with great labour through the rock; it is said, by Alexander the Great: originally it appears to have been ascended by steps, and hence to have received the name of the Tyrian *Climax* or Staircase. At the distance of nine miles to the south, below the promontory of Ras-en-Nakura, lies Zeb, the Ecdippa of profane geography, the Achzib of the Scriptures, which after the Captivity was considered by the Jews as the northern boundary of Judæa[3].

Acre or Acco, the Ptolemais of the Greeks, stands on the northern projection of a bay, which is about eight miles across, and is terminated on the south by the promontory of Carmel. A fertile plain extends on the S.E. to the hills of Galilee. The port which is on the south-eastern side of the promontory was capacious according to the requirements of ancient navigation, and was the mustering-place of the Persian fleet when preparing for the invasion of Egypt[4]. It is now

ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί δ' N. of Sidon. The Leontopolis of Strabo (756) lay between Berytus and Sidon, and that of Pliny (5, 20) between Berytus and the river Lycus Either these authors have misplaced it, or its name is connected with some other river than that which flows across the plain of Tyre.

[1] Russegger, 3, 143, 262.

[2] Pococke compares it with the road over Pen-maen-mawr. "The prospect down is very dreadful by reason of the extreme depth and steepness of the mountain, and the raging of the waves at the bottom." Maundrell, p. 70.

[3] Reland, Pal. 544. 10 29.

[4] Strabo 16, 758

nearly sanded up, and admits only small vessels, but there is deep water close to the walls of the town. During the French occupation of Egypt and the Egyptian occupation of Palestine, it proved itself the key of southern Syria. Its importance was equally seen in the Holy Wars; it afforded an easy line of march to Jerusalem, and a ready communication, through Galilee and the valley of the Upper Jordan, with Damascus; and from its vicinity to the most productive part of Palestine, an army could be abundantly supplied with provisions. Immediately to the south of Acre runs the river Belus or Naaman, celebrated for the sand on its banks, which was employed in the manufacture of glass. The deposit of the river was mixed with clay, but by the agitation of the waves the clay was carried off, and the silicious sand remained of a brilliant whiteness. The finest sand was confined to a distance of about 500 paces[1]—a hollow which the wind filled again as often as it was emptied[2]. It does not however appear to be confined to this river; Strabo places the downs from which it was obtained between Acre and Tyre[3]. Pliny describes the Belus as rising at the foot of Carmel, which suits better with the Wadi Abilin, which comes from the south and ends in the Nahr Naaman. But neither near Acre nor at the foot of Carmel is the lake Cendebia[4] to be found, in which, according to Pliny, the Belus rose[5].

[1] Plin. H. N. 36, 26. Tac. Hist. 5, 7.

[2] Jos. Bell. Jud. 2, 10, 2.

[3] It is found, but in smaller quantity, as far south as Jaffa. Mariti, Travels, 2, 124. The Venetians obtained from this coast the sand which they used in the manufacture of plate-glass.

[4] Shaw, Tr. 2, 33, mentions some pools near the source of the Belus, one of which may have borne this name. Scylax (c. 104) speaks of a town called Belus.

[5] Plin. 36, 26. 5, 19. Ritter's map (16) places it at Tel Ajaddish Birweh, on the Belus.

Josephus mentions a monument of Memnon near the mouth of the Belus, no doubt of some Assyrian conqueror of Palestine. In the deepest recess of the bay, sheltered beneath Carmel, is the harbour of Haifa; in the winter months, when the road of Acre is dangerous, ships anchor here. The low shore from Acre to Carmel is connected with the great plain of Esdraelon, which derives its name from the town of Jezreel, lying at its southern extremity. Around and in this plain are many places remarkable in history; to the east, Nazareth, and near it Mount Tabor (Itabyrium), rising like a cone from the plain; southward of this the Little Hermon and the hills of Gilboa, where Saul and Jonathan perished. Megiddo, on its western edge, was the scene of the battle in which Josiah was defeated and slain by Pharaoh Neco. In ancient times it was well cultivated and thickly peopled; now, though its natural fertility is unimpaired, it lies chiefly waste; for where life and property are insecure, the strength of a hilly region is preferred to a fruitful but defenceless plain. The "ancient stream Kishon," which, when swollen with sudden rain, proved fatal to the flying army of Sisera[1], skirts the north-eastern side of Carmel, and falls into the sea at Haifa, the ancient Porphyreon according to some authors. In its ordinary state it is a scanty stream, percolating through a bank of sand without any proper mouth[2].

The ridge of Carmel runs from S.E. to N.W.; its greatest elevation is about 1200 feet, but it falls

[1] "They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera." Judges, 5, 20. In the battle of April 16, 1799, many of the routed Turks were drowned in one of the affluents of the Kishon. Ritter, 16, 704. An immense number of the Crusaders perished from a similar cause at Aleppo. Russell, 1, 350.

[2] Shaw's Travels, 2, 33. Robinson, Bibl. Res. 3, 228.

towards the shore, and the Convent which is near the Cape is only 582 feet above the sea[1]. It is known to every reader of Scripture as the emblem to the Hebrew poets of whatever was fertile and beautiful[2]. The name denotes a garden, and though it is no longer covered with vineyards, oliveyards and orchards, the abundance and variety of the wild flowers and shrubs which it offers to the botanist show the salubrity of the air and the natural fertility of the soil[3]. It commands an extensive and magnificent horizon[4], embracing the sea from the White Promontory to Jaffa, Lebanon and Antilebanon, the plain of Esdraelon, and the hills of Galilee, Samaria and Bashan. It abounds in caves, the asylum of fugitives, and the place of retirement for those who delighted in religious contemplation[5]. Like most of the mountains of Syria, it was a sacred spot[6]; and Pythagoras concluded his visits to the Syrian and Phœnician temples by a residence on Carmel[7].

The sides of the mountain towards the Bay of Acre are steep and rugged, so that the traveller must dismount in order to ascend them[8]; but they slope more gently to the south, and in ancient times were covered with a forest[9]. The coast now assumes a different character; the bold bluff headlands which have hitherto marked the line of the shore disappear. The cliffs no longer represent the peaks of Lebanon, but the lower ranges of the hills of Samaria and Judah, and are of moderate elevation; more commonly the coast is level.

1 Schubert, Reisen, 3, 212.
2 Lowth, Prælect. 6, p. 76.
3 Schubert, u. s.
4 1 Kings, 18, 42.
5 Amos, 9, 3. 2 Kings, 2, 25; 4, 25.
6 Tac. Hist. 2, 78. "Carmelus, ita vocant montem Deumque."
7 Jambl. Vit. Pythag. sect. 14.
8 Mariti, 2, 131.
9 Strabo, 16, 758.

The name of Sephela has sometimes been given to the whole coast, from the south of Carmel to the borders of Egypt[1]; usually, however, it means the level coast which naturally contrasts itself with the hills of Judæa, as lying opposite to them. It may be divided also into two portions north and south of the headland of Jaffa. That to the north, as far as Cæsarea, is called the Plain of Sharon[2]; that to the south, in the more limited sense, the Plain of Sephela.

On the coast immediately below Carmel is Athlite, or *Castellum Peregrinorum*, which does not appear to represent any ancient town, but was a place of great strength in the Crusades. Dora stands just where Carmel begins to rise. It was anciently a town of considerable magnitude[3], inhabited by Phœnicians, who were attracted by the abundance of the shell which yielded the purple. It has a small port on the south, and the modern name Tortura[4], or Tantura, probably represents the ancient Dora[5]. The Israelites, though the king of Dora was smitten in battle, could not expel the inhabitants[6]. A small river, called the Nahr-el-Zerka, the Chorseas of Ptolemy, descending from the south-western side of Carmel, falls into the sea three miles to the north of Cæsarea[7], and is supposed to be the River of Crocodiles, near which a town of the same name once stood[8]. The crocodile of Egypt can never have lived in the rivers of Syria, which dry

[1] From שפל to be low. Josh. 11, 16. Jer. 32, 44; 33, 13. In our translation "the valley."

[2] Isaiah, 65, 10. 2 Chron. 27, 29.

[3] Jerome, Epit. Paulæ, Op. 1, 223. "Ruinas Dor, urbis quondam potentissimæ."

[4] Pococke, 2, 58. On Robinson's map it is Tantura.

[5] Steph. Byz. s voc.

[6] Josh. 11, 2. "The borders of Dor on the west." 12, 23; 17, 11.

[7] Wilson, Lands of Bible, 2, 249.

[8] "Fuit oppidum Crocodilôn, est flumen." Plin. H. N. 5, 19.

to shallow streams in the summer; but the name *crocodilus* properly denoted a lizard[1], and probably the *Monitor*, or *Lacertus Niloticus*, which is found near streams in Palestine[2], may have given origin to the name. Cæsarea was a foundation of Herod the Great, who by moles of stupendous magnitude succeeded in creating a safe and spacious harbour on this inhospitable coast; but an earlier town had stood there, which connects itself with Phœnician history by the name of Tower of Straton, a ruler of Sidon under the Persians. Pliny places here the boundary between Phœnicia and Palestine. Nahr-el-Arsouf, fifteen miles from Cæsarea, and equidistant from that place and Joppa, is the site of the Apollonias of Pliny[3]; but it is not known whether any Phœnician town existed here.

Jaffa, anciently Joppa, in N. L. 32° 2′, stands on the side of a low hill near the sea, and appears formerly to have possessed a harbour capable of containing large vessels. It was the port of Jerusalem (though never till the time of the Maccabees in actual possession by the Jews), from which it is distant about forty miles. It was the medium of commercial intercourse between Judæa and Tyre, and though not geographically included in Phœnicia, appears to have belonged to the Phœnicians. The cedars felled on Lebanon for the Temple and Palace of Jerusalem were disembarked at Joppa[4]. To the same place the prophet Jonah came, seeking a ship on which to flee to Tarshish[5].

1 Herod. 2, 69; 4, 192.

2 Robinson, 2, 253. Mariti, 2, 234, speaks of the *Nahr-el-Temsieh* or River of the Crocodiles. Buckingham could hear of no such name. Comp. Antig. Caryst. 162, which shows that the name was loosely used. Jerome (Jov. 2) says the *land-crocodile* was used for food in Syria.

3 H. N. 5, 13.

4 Chron. 2, 16.

5 Jonah, 1, 3.

It has now only a roadstead, unsafe in stormy weather[1], owing to a reef of rock and coral which extends along the coast to Gaza. The hill on which it stands is of little elevation, and the plains of Sharon and Sephela extend north and south of it. Towards the east, is first of all the hill country, rising from the plain, composed of chalk in nearly horizontal strata, and with gently undulating outline, or a conglomerate formed from its fragments; next, the loftier, more rugged and barren mountains of the Jura limestone as Jerusalem is approached. The plain itself is destitute of rock, and almost of stone; in the dry season it is reduced to dust, but after rain its fertility is very great. Joppa was a town of high antiquity, and appears at the time of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites to have been too strong to be reduced by the tribe of Dan, who possessed "the border before Japho," but not the town itself[2]. Its antiquity is celebrated in heathen fables; it was said to have been founded before the Flood[3], and Andromeda to have been exposed here on a rock by her father Cepheus to the sea-monster from whom she was rescued by Perseus[4]. The rock to which her chain was fastened was pointed out in the days of Jerome, and the bones of the monster, 40 feet long, were carried to Rome, and exhibited, along with crocodiles and a hippopotamus, in the spectacles by which Scaurus celebrated his ædileship.

Mela makes Joppa the boundary between Palestine and Phœnicia; but the most northerly of the towns

[1] Pococke, 2, 2. Volney, Voy. 2, 193.

[2] Josh. 19, 46.

[3] "Joppe Phœnicum, antiquior terrarum inundatione ut ferunt." Plin. H. N. 5, 14.

[4] Plin. H. N. 9, 5. Jerome, Comm. Jon. c. 1. The story appears to have been transferred to Beirout, where St. George had his combat with the dragon who was about to devour the princess of Berytus.

which in Scripture are assigned to the land of the Philistines (Palestine) is Jabna[1], the Jamnia of the Greek writers. It had a harbour bearing the same name[2], but like all the towns in the country of the Philistines, with the exception of Ascalon, was not immediately on the sea-shore. A stream called Nahr Rubin flows past it, one of the few on this coast which is not wholly dried up in summer[3]. Ekron, now Akir, lies a few miles further inland than Jamnia, and was on the northern frontier of Philistia[4]. The plain around it is of remarkable fertility[5]. From this point southward the alluvial plain between the hills and the sea gradually widens, till it is cut off by the sandy desert between Palestine and Egypt.

Ashdod, the ancient Azotus, ten miles south of Jamnia, stands on a hill surrounded by beautifully undulating pasture grounds. It must have been a place of great strength in remote times, as its name seems to imply[6]. Tartan, the general of the king of Assyria, besieged it, and probably increased its fortifications, as its reduction cost Psammiticus a siege of twenty-nine years[7]. At this time Gaza appears not to have attained its subsequent importance, and Azotus commanded the road to Egypt. Though it did not stand on the shore, it had a harbour or anchorage, and exported to the West the produce of Arabia[8], brought thither from

[1] 2 Chron. 26, 6. "Uzziah warred against the Philistines and broke down the wall of Jabneh." According to the reading of some MSS. of the Sept. Josh. 15, 46 (ἀπὸ Ἀκκαρὼν Ἰέμναι), it was included in the allotment of the tribe of Dan.

[2] Pliny, H. N. 5, 13. "Jamniæ duæ, altera intus." Ptolemy, 5, 15, distinguishes Ἰαμνία from Ἰαμνειτῶν λιμήν.

[3] Volney, 2, 197.

[4] Josh. 13, 3.

[5] Richardson's Travels, 2, 205.

[6] אשדוד, from שדד, to be strong, violent.

[7] Isaiah, 20, 1. Herod. 2. 157.

[8] Pomp. Mela, 1, 10. "Arabia portum admittit Azotum suarum mercium emporium."

Ezion-Geber, Petra and the Persian Gulf. Ascalon, about twelve miles south of Azotus, was a part of the territory allotted to the Jews, but never possessed by them. According to the Lydian historians[1], it was founded by Ascalus, son of Aciamus, king of Lydia, a tradition founded probably on mythological resemblances. The soil around the town was remarkable for its fertility; the wine of Ascalon was celebrated, and the *al-henna* plant flourished here better than in any other place, except Canopus near Alexandria[2]. No trace has been found of the temple of the Venus Urania of Ascalon, the oldest, according to Herodotus, which was dedicated to her worship. Its position is naturally very strong; the walls are built on a ridge of rock which winds in a semicircular curve around the town, and terminates at each end in the sea. There is no bay or shelter for ships, but a small harbour towards the east advanced a little way into the town, and anciently bore the name of Majumas like that of Gaza[3]. Its naval power, however, must at one time have been great, as a defeat of the Sidonians by the inhabitants of Ascalon is said to have produced the colonization of Tyre[4]. In the Crusades too it became an important post, and was the scene of some of the most valiant exploits of Richard Cœur-de-Lion. The road from Ascalon leads through a beautiful and well-wooded valley[5] towards Gaza, the frontier town of Palestine on the side of Egypt. It occupies the summit of a hill in the plain, between two and three miles

[1] Xanthus in Steph. Byz. s. voc.

[2] The *Lawsonia inermis*, called *Cyprus* by the ancients. The onion which we call *shalot* derived its name from Ascalon. Strabo, 16, 759. Pliny, 19, 6. Ascalon was also celebrated for its figs. Athen. 3, 78.

[3] Reland, Pal. 530. 590.

[4] Justin, 18, 3, 5.

[5] Richardson, Travels, 2, 200.

from the sea, amidst a soil very fertile, though so light and sandy, that the machines of Alexander sank in it and could not be brought up to the walls[1]. It was fortified in very early times[2], and towards the end of the Egyptian monarchy became the most important place on this part of the coast. Cambyses made it the mustering-place of his army and deposit of his treasures, before his invasion of Egypt. Alexander's engineers considered it impregnable, and he was exposed to great danger in its reduction. It was important also as an emporium of commerce, the roads from Petra, Egypt, Jerusalem and Palmyra, as well as that along the coast, meeting here[3]. A harbour had been constructed on the shore, which had the name of Majumas[4], but the sea is shallow and full of quicksands[5], like the adjacent coast of Egypt. From its situation on the confines of several countries, its population appears to have been made up of Arabs or Idumæans, Jews and Philistines, and it bore various names, as Ione and Minoa[6]. A deity called Marnas, or Zeus Marnaios, said to be the Cretan Jupiter, had a temple of great splendour here in later times, and was the object of bigoted attachment to the people of Gaza. A place in the vicinity of Gaza, bearing the name of Bethel (house of God), contained an ancient temple, and a Pantheon erected on an artificial eminence[7].

[1] Arrian, Exp. Alex. 2, 26.

[2] Judges, 16, 3.

[3] Plin. H. N. 6, 28. Acts, 8, 26.

[4] The name Majuma is supposed to be derived from the Coptic, in which *mai* is *place*, and *ioum*, *sea*. Movers, 2, 2, 178. Hieron. Vit. Hil. Op. 1, 338.

[5] Ἡ *θάλασσα ἡ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τεναγώδης πᾶσα*. Arr. 2, 26.

[6] Steph. Byz. s. v. *Γάζα*.

[7] Sozomen, quoted by Reland, p. 800. Hieron. Vit. Hilar. 1, 326, ed. Par. 1579.

The town was laid waste by Alexander[1], but appears always to have retained a considerable population, and to have been again strongly fortified[2]. Here, as along the adjacent coast of Egypt, the sand of the sea-shore is hardened by the action of the waves into a rock capable of being employed in building[3]. Khan Iounes, fifteen miles from Gaza, represents the ancient Jenysus, and Refa (Raphia) was the scene of the defeat of Antiochus III. by Ptolemy Philopator, B.C. 217. Beyond this, the chalk and limestone of Syria give place to a sandy rock, whose detritus forms the Desert between Egypt and Palestine. Rhinocolura, now El-Arish, stands on a slightly elevated mass of the chalky limestone, amidst wreaths of drifted sand. It was used by the Egyptians as a place of banishment for criminals, and in later times was in the hands of the Phœnicians[4], as an emporium for the wares of Arabia and India which the Nabathæans transported from Petra. It is the natural boundary between Egypt and Syria. The Wadi Abiad, which unites in itself several valleys and here opens to the sea, is the River or Torrent of Egypt of the Scriptures, the assigned limit of the Promised Land, though the actual possessions of the Jews rarely reached so far[5]. The Desert however does not end here; for between Rhinocolura and Pelusium, only the neighbourhood of

[1] Strabo, 16, 759. Of the extent of the meaning of ἔρημος here and in Acts, 8, 26, see Groskurd's note.

[2] 1 Macc. 11, 62. "Ingens et munita admodum Gaza." Pomp. Mela, 1, 11.

[3] Hieron. Vit. Hil. u. s. Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, 1, 59.

[4] Strabo, 16, 781.

[5] Gen. 15, 18. Numb. 34, 5. Josh. 15, 4. "Sichor which is before Egypt," Josh. 13, 3, has been supposed to be the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, as in Is. 23, 3; Jerem. 2, 18; which may have been contemplated as the boundary of Palestine, but to which it never really extended.

the Casian Mount produces any vegetation serviceable to man.

The vicinity of the Nile affects the condition of the coast of Phœnicia, even as far north as Tyre and Sidon. The set of the currents in this part of the Mediterranean carries regularly to the eastward the alluvial matter which the river gathers in its long descent, and deposits it on the coast of Syria. By these accretions, towns formerly maritime have become inland, and harbours which once received fleets of merchant ships and triremes are silted up[1].

From Myriandrus to Rhinocolura is about 450 miles; but if we consider Phœnicia to begin at Aradus and end at Joppa, which in an historical sense would be more correct, the coast-line would be reduced one-half. Inland it was so closely bordered by mountains or the boundaries of other states, that the breadth of its territory never exceeded twelve miles, and was generally much less.

[1] Smyth, The Mediterranean, p. 170.

CHAPTER II.

CLIMATE AND PRODUCTIONS.

FROM the variety of surface and elevation which Phœnicia exhibits, arises a corresponding variety of climate. The greatest heat prevails on the coast, but it nowhere equals that of the deep depression of the Jordan valley and the shores of the Dead Sea, and it varies according to latitude and other causes. In the summer months the plains of Sephela and Sharon are little more than an expanse of sand, and as the hills which bound the plain are remote and of small elevation, they exert no influence in cooling the atmosphere. North of Mount Carmel, however, the increase of the latitude begins to affect the temperature; the plain is closely bordered by mountains belonging to the chain of Lebanon, and soon by Lebanon itself, which during the greater part of the year is covered with snow. At Beirout, which lies at the foot of its highest peak, the Gebel-es-Sannin, and is about equally distant from the northern and southern limits of the coast, the usual summer heat is 90° of Fahrenheit, the winter rarely below 50°[1]; the orange and the date-palm flourish in the open air, and the gardens are filled with flowers in December and January[2]. At the northern extremity of Syria, in Antioch and Aleppo, the vicinity of Taurus produces a sensible effect on the severity of the climate, and the pointed roofs of

[1] Volney, 1, 184. [2] Russegger, 1, 1, 410.

the houses show that heavy falls of snow accompany the winter. The climate of the mountainous district of Phœnicia proper has again its own varieties. In the higher regions a severe winter reigns from November to March, and few years are without snow, which falls to the depth of several feet, and lasts for many weeks. Even in the valley of the Bekaa, between Libanus and Antilibanus, owing to its elevation above the sea, and the vicinity of the mountains, there are severe frosts every year, and the ground is covered for several weeks with snow. These same districts afford, during the height of summer, an easy refuge from the sultry heat of the coast; and by a few hours' journey, the traveller may transport himself to a region of refreshing coolness and verdure, where the mind is invigorated by a combination of grand and beautiful scenery[1].

In the southern part of Phœnicia the rains begin after the drought of the summer months, in the end of October, or the first week of November, they soften the soil and prepare it for the reception of the winter corn. This, not the rain of spring, is the *early* rain of Scripture, and it is usually succeeded by dry weather. In the end of November and in December, heavy rains fall, and in January and February, snow, which in Palestine is seldom more than a foot deep, and lies only for a short time. In milder winters the rains continue during these months. Frost is sufficiently severe to cover the standing waters with a thin

[1] The summit of Lebanon retains the snow during the summer only in its ravines. "Libanum, mirum dictu, tantos inter ardores opacum fidumque nivibus." Tac. Hist. 5, 6. The appearance of these partial wreaths of snow is strikingly described by Phocas, *συρμάδας χίονος, ὡς βοστρύχους περιβαλλόμενος* Reland, p 321.

crust of ice, but does not penetrate into the ground. In March the rain abates in quantity, and the light showers which then fall, the *later* rain of Scripture, alternating with drying winds, prepare the autumn-sown crop for ripening, and bring the ground into a fit state for sowing the summer crop of sesame and leguminous vegetables. In the months of April and May the temperature is delightful, and the ripening, first of the barley and afterwards of the wheat, proceeds rapidly. At the end of May the barometer fixes itself, and remains steadily in the same position till October, during which time the sky is usually unclouded and rain unknown[1]. The prevailing winds of the whole year are from the west; rain comes from the west, north-west and south-west. The south wind, which blows in March, produces the same languor as the Khamsin of Egypt or the Scirocco of southern Europe. In summer the wind appears to follow the sun each day round the horizon, and on the coast there is a land wind, which rises at sunset, but extends only about three leagues to sea. The coast is subject to violent storms from the north-west in October and November, which are especially dangerous to seamen, as the roadsteads are less sheltered from this quarter than from any other[2]. The east wind, which blows from the Desert, and prevails from March to June, is dry and parching, as well as violent.

The vegetable productions of Syria, of which Phœnicia is the sea-border, are as various as its soil and climate. Lebanon, besides its cedars, was covered with pine, fir and cypress[3], and the terebinth grew

[1] Volney, Voyage en Syrie, 1, 184.

[2] Russegger, 1, 1, 404.

[3] Phocas ap. Reland, u. s. Is.

to a great size in Palestine, attaining such longevity as to become an object of veneration and mythic legend[1]. The forests of Lebanon not only furnished an ample supply of trees of nobler growth for architecture and ship-building, but of firewood for the caldrons of the Tyrian dyers and the furnaces of the Sidonian glass-houses. The palm is the numismatic emblem of Aradus, Tyre and Sidon[2]. In some portion or other of Syria the fig bears fruit during nine months of the year. The early fig is ripe in the warm valley of the Jordan in the beginning of June; the summer fig in August; and the winter fig remains upon the tree till January, unless the winter is unusually severe. To sit under his fig-tree and his vine was to the Hebrew the emblem of prosperity and peace. The sycamore and the olive grew so abundantly in the plain of Sephela, that they were under the charge of a special officer of David's household[3]. Oil and corn were the equivalents which Solomon rendered to Hiram for the cedars of Lebanon; it was the benediction of Asher, whose territory bordered on Phœnicia, that he should dip his foot in oil, with which Egypt also was supplied from Palestine[4]. The name of Rimmon, which means *pomegranate*, occurs frequently in the topography of Palestine, and was probably derived from the culture of this beautiful tree[5]. The pistachio-nut was one of the choice fruits of the land of Canaan, which Jacob sent as a present to Pharaoh[6]. Modern culture has added

37, 24. The word rendered *box*, Is. 60, 13, was probably some kind of cedar.

[1] One was shown near Hebron as old as the creation (Jos. Bell. Jud. 4, 9, 7), or at least as the days of Abraham. Eus. Pr. Evang. 5, 9.

[2] Eckhel, D. N. V. P. 1. V. 3. p. 441, 468.

[3] 1 Chron. 27, 28.

[4] Deut. 33, 24. Hosea, 12, 1.

[5] Deut. 8, 8.

[6] Gen. 43, 11. "Syria peculiares habet arbores; in nucum genere pistacia nota." Plin. H. N. 13, 10.

the mulberry, orange and citron to its fruit-bearing trees, and cotton, tobacco, indigo and the banana to its herbaceous plants; and there is scarcely any growth of the temperate zone which its diversified surface is not capable of producing, touching as it does two different climates at its northern and southern limits. Its zoology is not remarkable. The lion and the bear formerly inhabited it[1]; they are now unknown, and the wolf and the hyena are rare.

Syria in its ordinary state is a healthy country. Fevers prevail in the heat of summer on the coast, but their occasional malignity is probably more owing to the entire neglect of all sanitary precautions than to the climate. As the rivers have a short and rapid course, malaria is not generated by stagnant water near their mouths; the Orontes is the single exception; flowing through a wider valley it becomes marshy as it approaches the sea, and the Bay of Scanderoon, into which it discharges itself, is the only unhealthy part of the coast[2]. The plague, when it appears in Syria, begins in winter and decreases in virulence as the heat increases; it usually comes from Egypt, to which it has been carried from Constantinople[3]. As far back as history extends, its ravages in this country have been fearful. Palestine was repeatedly visited by it; it is always found among the judgments with which the disobedience of the Jewish people is threatened[4]; and in more recent times it has swept off many thousands in the course of a few weeks. Hitherto the limited progress of civilization in the

[1] 1 Sam. 17, 34.

[2] Russell's Aleppo, 1, 61. Report on Steam Navigation to India, p. 148.

[3] Mariti, 1, 286. Compare Robinson, Biblical Res. 1, 366.

[4] 2 Sam. 24. Jos. Ant. 15, 9.

countries which border the Levant, appears rather to have increased the frequency of its visitations by increasing their mutual intercourse; and till the condition of their great cities is improved, this scourge is not likely to be withdrawn. The earthquakes to which Syria, in common with Asia Minor, is subject[1], appear to be connected with that volcanic agency and proximity of subterranean fire, of which the effects are seen in the whole valley of the Jordan. One of the latest of them, that of 1837, entirely destroyed the town of Safed, near the western limit of this valley; and in that of 1759, Tiberias, on the shore of the Lake, was laid in ruins. Aleppo and Damascus, however, have suffered equally; and along the coast, Tripolis, Berytus, Sidon and Tyre have undergone changes from the same cause, which perplex the inquirer into their ancient localities. Jerusalem alone, of the great towns of Syria, appears to have been exempt from earthquakes, a circumstance which had not escaped the notice of its ancient inhabitants[2].

Neither Phœnicia nor Syria are metalliferous regions, being chiefly composed of comparatively recent strata. None of the precious metals are found anywhere within their limits. The name of Chalcis occurs in northern Syria, and may seem to indicate a mine of copper; but none such is known to exist. Iron ore of good quality, consisting of an ochrous earth, yielding from 50 to 60 per cent. of metal, is found in the hills above Beyrout[3], and may have been advantageously worked, when wood was more abundant than at pre-

[1] Justin, 40, 2, speaks of an earthquake in which 170,000 men perished. Senec. Ep. 91, 9. "Quot oppida in Syria, uno tremore ceciderunt!" Nat. Quæst. 6, 1.

[2] Ps. 46, 2, 3. 5.

[3] Russegger, 1, 2, 693.

sent. The coal which is found in the same locality is too scanty and too much impregnated with sulphur to avail for smelting it. Syria appears always to have depended for its supply of copper and iron upon the mines of Taurus and Mount Ararat[1]. Gold was brought by Phœnician commerce from the East and South, and silver and lead from the West.

[1] According to 1 Chron. 18, 8, the copper which served for the works in brass executed by Solomon came from Tibhath and Chun, probably in the mountainous region among the branches of Taurus. A Chalcis is found in Commagene.

CHAPTER III.

ORIGIN OF THE NATION.

WE have hitherto spoken of Phœnicia as the sea-coast of Syria; but neither Syria, a Greek abbreviation of Assyria[1], nor the oriental Aram, was the earliest name which the region bore. In the book of Genesis the name of Aram is confined to Mesopotamia, and does not extend westward of the Desert. The countries between the Jordan and the Euphrates, northward of the Dead Sea, are comprehended under the general denomination of "beyond Jordan;" on the eastern shores of that sea dwelt the Moabites and Ammonites. Westward from the Jordan to the Mediterranean the whole country bore the name of CANAAN. It was into Canaan that Abram entered when he quitted his native land, and wherever he and his descendants move in it, we find it bearing the same collective name. Its southern boundary, towards which their relations with Egypt drew them, was the Desert; on the north, with which they had no immediate connexion, no limit is assigned in the patriarchal history, except that Hamath (Epiphania in the valley of the Orontes) is mentioned among the descendants of Canaan. Canaan occurs only as a personal, not a geographical name, in the book of Genesis, between the Flood and the history of Abraham. That it was the earliest collective name by which this country was

[1] Herod. 7, 63.

known, may be concluded, not only from the absence of any other in the book of Genesis, but also from the monuments of Egypt, in which the "Land of Canaan" occurs in the reign of Setei-Menephthah[1]. There is no example in Scripture of the use of the name Canaan, in any other than this general sense, as the country into which Abraham migrated, and of which his descendants afterwards possessed themselves. Where the inhabitants are spoken of as Canaanites, it is often in a sense as general as that of Canaan; at other times Canaanite is used of a special portion of the population, joined with Hittites or Hethites, Amorites, Girgasites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites, but distinguished from them. When used in this more limited sense, it described the inhabitants of two regions of comparatively level country—one, the space between the hills of Judæa and the Mediterranean on the west; the other, the valley of the Jordan on the east, extending to the plain of Esdraelon[2]. The general name of Canaanite, given to the whole population when its parts were imperfectly known to the Israelites, was superseded by those of special tribes, when they became more intimately acquainted with them; while the general name remained to those who had not acquired new denominations by quitting their original seats. Great changes seem to have occurred

[1] Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, 2, 256.

[2] Numbers, 13, 29, the spies report, "The Amalekites dwell in the land of the south," south of the proper limits of Canaan; "and the Hittites and the Jebusites and the Amorites dwell in the mountains; and the Canaanites dwell *by the sea, and by the coast of Jordan.*" Josh. 11, 3, in the general coalition to attack the Israelites, Jabin send "to the Canaanite on the east and on the west." The Canaanites on the west appear to be those mentioned 2 Sam. 24, 7. Those on the east are, "the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley, they who are of Bethshean (Scythopolis near the Jordan), and they who are of the valley of Jezreel" (Esdraelon), Josh. 17, 16.

among the nations of Canaan, in the interval between the descent of the Israelites into Egypt and their return to occupy the Promised Land.

In the ethnological table contained in the tenth chapter of Genesis, the affinity of all the tribes within the limits of Canaan is distinctly set forth. "Canaan begat Sidon his first-born, and Heth, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite[1], and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite; and afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad: and the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha." As Gaza was the last considerable town on the coast of the Mediterranean towards Egypt, and Gerar nearly identical with the inland country of the Philistines, "Canaanites" seems here to be used in the same specific sense as in Numbers and Joshua for the inhabitants of the level country on the coast[2], while "Canaan" is the primitive general name, to which all the rest are subordinate. The mention of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah marks the southern extremity of the plain, which afterwards became the Dead Sea[3], as the limit of Canaan in this direction. There was a boundary fixed by nature in the ridge which separates this plain from the valley of Araba opening to the Red Sea. Originally "the coast of Jordan" extended thus far[4], and the description is

[1] The inhabitants of a town called Sinna, Strab. p. 788, not far from Arca, among the hills at the roots of Lebanon, of which only the name remained in the time of Jerome. See Mich. Spicil. 2, 28.

[2] Zephaniah, 2, 5. "Canaan the land of the Philistines."

[3] Gen. 13, 10.

[4] Gen. 19, 30.

adapted to this state of things. The inhabitants of the doomed cities were of the race of Ham. Lasha was probably Callirrhoe, on the river Zerka, the boundary of the territories of Moab and Ammon, who after the catastrophe of Sodom and Gomorrah occupied the eastern shore of the Dead Sea.

The enumeration of the descendants of Canaan, that is, the branches or colonies of the Canaanite people, includes a considerable portion of the ancient territory of Phœnicia. Sidon, the oldest and most important of their towns, is called his eldest born; Aradus, Sinna, Arca, Simyra, places in the Phœnician territory, are represented in the table in Genesis by the Arvadite, the Sinite, the Arkite, and the Zemarite. The Phœnicians appear to have known their country by no other name than that of Canaan. According to Hecatæus and Stephanus Byzantinus[1], *Chna*, an evident contraction of the oriental form, was the previous name of Phœnicia; and Sanchoniatho says that the name of Chna was changed into Phœnix[2]. The Septuagint frequently renders Canaan and Canaanite in the Hebrew by Phœnicia and Phœnician[3], and even the Carthaginians in their African settlements called themselves Canaanites[4]. The woman whom the evangelist Mark (7, 26), writing, as is commonly supposed, for Gentile readers, calls a Syrophœnician, Matthew (15, 22), addressing his own countrymen, probably in their own language, calls a Canaanite. But the

[1] Fragm. 254, ed. Klausen. Χνᾶ, *οὕτω γὰρ πρότερον ἡ Φοινίκη ἐκαλεῖτο.* Steph. Byz. s. v.

[2] Sanch. p. 40, ed. Orelli. Eupolemus, ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 9, 17, makes Canaan the progenitor of the Phœnicians.

[3] Exod. 6, 15. 16, 35. Josh. 5, 12. Job, 40, 25 (41, 6). See Bochart, Geog. Sac. lib. 4. c. 34.

[4] Augustin. Ep. ad Rom. Opera, 3, 932. "Interrogati rustici nostri quid sint, Punice respondent, Chanani."

most decisive proof is furnished by a Phœnician coin already mentioned, which bears the inscription "Laodicea, mother in Canaan[1]." It is unimportant to our present purpose whether it be Laodicea on the sea-coast, or the inland town of the same name, to which this coin belongs; in either case it proves that Phœnicia, even in the time of the Greek dominion in Syria, continued to be called by the native name of Canaan.

The origin of the name is referred in the book of Genesis to an individual, as that of most of the countries mentioned in this ethnological sketch. Other etymologies have been suggested. The most probable is that which derives it from a word signifying depression[2], and supposes it to have been originally limited in its application to the level country between Tyre and Sidon, and southward of Carmel to the confines of Egypt, and only gradually extended to the limits which we have described above. It appears never to have borne any other collective name. We find the mention of a gigantic race of Rephaim[3], of whom Og the king of Basan was a descendant, on the eastern side of Jordan; and traces of the same name are found on the western side in the name "land of the Rephaim" (Josh. 17, 15), "valley of the Rephaim" (Josh. 15, 8). Children of Anak[4], also of gigantic stature, are mentioned in the south of Palestine. Popular belief usually imputes such a stature

[1] P. 3 of this volume. The coin is of the age of Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes).

[2] כנען, from an obsolete root כנע. Another etymology derives it from a root denoting "merchandise," but this is probably itself a derivative meaning, the consequence of the mercantile activity of the Phœnicians.

[3] The Rephaim, Zuzim and Emim, and Horites are mentioned Gen. 14, 5, as engaged in war with Chedorlaomer and his associates, bnt nothing is there said of their gigantic size.

[4] Numb. 13, 28. Deut. 9, 2. Josh. 14, 12. Judges, 1, 20.

to vanished races of men[1], which is not confirmed by more accurate research. Their weapons appear to indicate superhuman strength to a more civilized age, which has learnt to trust to skill rather than the size and weight of arms. Their public works and monuments, if the execution of them surpass the power of their posterity, are ascribed, not to skill and combination, but to individual power. Their tumuli, extending many yards and covering numerous bodies, have been supposed to indicate the proportions of an individual body; remains of extinct species of animals have been ignorantly mistaken for those of men. Hence in almost every country of antiquity we meet with traditions of gigantic races[2]. In regard to the supposed inhabitants of Canaan, it is remarkable that no traces of giants are found in the history of the patriarchs, or in the settled times of the monarchy. They belong entirely to antediluvian times, or to what has been called the heroic age of the Jewish history, the period of the Conquest, and the Judges, when the fears of some and the patriotic vanity of others naturally produced exaggerated ideas of the enemies whom they encountered. Two of these vanished races, the Rephaim and Nephilim[3], appear, like the giants of

[1] Od. κ', 118. ἴφθιμοι Λαιστρυγόνες—Μυρίοι, οὐκ ἄνδρεσσιν ἐοικότες, ἀλλὰ γίγασιν Bekker, Anec. 232. Eudoc. p. 47. Diod 5, 55. Paus. 1, 35. Ritter, 6, 94, of a similar belief in Ceylon. Borlase's Cornwall, p. 207.

[2] Strabo, 17, p. 829; the bones of Antæus were said to be 60 cubits in length. The tradition of giants appears still to linger among the hills of Judæa, and the inhabitants declare that they have *seen* and *handled* human bones thrice the size of those of the present day. Buckingham, Travels, 307. Sardinia has its Sepulture deis Gigantes; and the barrows of Scandinavia are called Hunengräber, giants' graves; or Jættestuer, giants' chambers.

[3] Numbers, 13, 33. The same word *Nephilim* is used Gen. 6, 2. 4, of the antediluvian giants, and those who sprung from the union of the sons of God with the daughters of men. The name means *irruens, grassans*. Job, 1, 15. Josh. 11, 7.

Greek tradition[1], to have become the inhabitants of the Jewish Tartarus, dwelling there in darkness and unconsciousness[2]. The idea of violence and crime is usually associated with that of inordinate strength; and the names of the Emim and the Zamzumim, who belong to these legendary giants of Palestine, denote such qualities[3], and were therefore probably given them by hostile nations. Even if they were historical races, preceding the Canaanites in the occupation of those regions in which their names and traditions are found, this would not affect the question of the origin of the Phœnicians, since no traces of them appear in the country which they occupied.

The name of Canaan, borne by the Phœnicians, and the mention of Sidon and other towns as descendants of Canaan in the earliest ethnography of the Jews, would have led to the conclusion that they formed a part of a great population, which, from a period beyond the reach of history, had occupied the coast and the interior of the country between Egypt and northern Syria on the one side, and the Mediterranean and the Jordan on the other. The Jews acknowledged themselves to be immigrants into this region "from beyond the flood," the river Euphrates. They speak of the Philistines as migrating from Caphthor[4], and the Syrians from Kir, but give no intimation that the Phœnicians had not been from immemorial antiquity the inhabitants of their terri-

[1] Il. θ', 479. Od. η', 59, 207. Dion Cass. 66, 22, 23. In the eruption of Vesuvius it was thought they had come to life again.

[2] Isaiah, 14, 9. 26, 14. Ps. 88, 11, where Rephaim is used for the dead. The root signifies to be feeble, weak, "umbræ tenues simulacraque luce carentum."

[3] אימים, *Emim*, from אים, fortis, horrendus. זמזמים, *Zamzumim*, from זמה, crimen, culpa.

[4] Amos, 9, 7.

tory. The high antiquity of the Canaanites is indicated in the ethnological table in Genesis by Canaan being made equally near in descent to the common ancestor Ham, with Mizraim, the representative of the Egyptian people; while the Philistines are deduced by an intermediate step from the same ancestor; and the Syrians of Damascus (Uz[1]) and Cœlesyria (Chul) are removed by two degrees from Shem.

If, however, we receive the testimony of the Phœnicians themselves, preserved to us by Herodotus, they were no less immigrants than the Jews. Relating, in the opening of his history, the first occasion of hostility between the Greeks and the Barbarians, he says, "The learned[2] among the Persians allege that the Phœnicians were the cause; for that they, coming from the sea called Erythra to this sea" (the Mediterranean), "and having settled in the country which they now occupy, immediately undertook distant voyages; and carrying cargoes, both of Egyptian and Assyrian goods, visited, among other places, Argos." In another passage[3], having described the Phœnicians as furnishing, along with the Syrians of Palestine, a quota of 300 ships to the navy of Xerxes, he adds, "These Phœnicians, *as they themselves say*, anciently dwelt upon the Sea Erythra; and crossing over thence they inhabit the sea-coast of Syria; and this region of Syria and the whole as far as Egypt is called Palestine[4]." Justin gives a nearly similar ac-

[1] Bochart, Geogr. Sac. 2, 8. Michaelis, Spic. Geogr. 2, 126.

[2] Οἱ λόγιοι τῶν Περσέων, which, according to the usage of Herodotus elsewhere, means "learned in history and antiquities," 2, 3.

[3] 7, 89.

[4] Herodotus seems here to extend the name of Palestine to the whole sea-coast; elsewhere he distinguishes between Phœnicia as the northern and Palestine as the southern part, 3, 5.

count[1]: "The Tyrian nation was founded by the Phœnicians, who, being disturbed by an earthquake, and leaving their native land, settled first of all on the Assyrian Lake, and subsequently on the shore near the sea, founding there a city which they called Sidon, from the abundance of fish; for the Phœnicians call a fish *Sidon.*"

The Assyrian Lake can be no other than the Dead Sea, or the Lake of Gennesaret. In southern Assyria there was no collection of waters to which the name of Lake could be applied, and the language of Justin bears a remarkable resemblance to Seneca's description of the Dead Sea[2]. This appears to be independent of the account of Herodotus, though supplementary to it; for Herodotus does not indicate the route by which the immigrants reached the coast of the Mediterranean, nor does Justin inform us whence they came to the borders of the Syrian Lake. The "Sea called Erythra," in Herodotus, has a wide extension, including the Indian Ocean and its two gulfs, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, which latter however he does not appear to have considered as a gulf, but as part of a continuous sea-line[3]; but when he means specifically the Red Sea, he calls it by the name of Arabian Gulf[4]. The south of Palestine would be the route naturally taken by emigrants from the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Mediterranean, and the valley of the

[1] 18, 3, 2. "Tyriorum gens condita a Phœnicibus fuit; qui terræ motu vexati, relicto patriæ solo, Assyrium stagnum primo, mox mari proximum litus incoluere."

[2] Sen. Nat. Quæst. 3, 25. "Est in *Syria stagnum* in quo natant lateres." Syria and Assyria were often used synonymously Her. 7, 63. *Οὗτοι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκαλέοντο.* The Lemlem marshes of the Euphrates were *paludes* (Plin. 6, 28), not lacus or stagnum.

[3] Rennell, Geogr. of Herod. 1, 260.

[4] 2, 159.

Jordan would conduct them thence across the plain of Esdraelon to Phœnicia. From Petra to Jericho was only three or four days' journey[1]; and from Petra to Gerrha on the Persian Gulf was a well-known route of traffic[2], which in earlier ages would be a natural course of emigration. It is remarkable that not fewer than three places[3] were found on the Persian Gulf, bearing similar, if not identical names with those of Phœnicia,—Tyrus or Tylus, Aradus[4], and Dora, in which were temples, resembling in architecture those of Phœnicia, and the inhabitants of which claimed the Phœnicians of Palestine for their colonists. If the resemblance of name do not prove this, it shows at least a similarity of language, presumptive of an affinity between the inhabitants of these two regions. The threefold character under which the Phœnicians appear to us in their earliest history—navigators, merchants and pirates—has always belonged to the natives of the Arabian Peninsula, and these attributes were united in no other nation of equal antiquity. The Babylonians were not familiar with the sea, and the Egyptians abhorred it[5]. The Phœnicians were never more than settlers on the coast of Syria, without roots in the interior; as they began so they ended.

By placing Canaan among the sons of Ham, with the Ethiopians, Egyptians and Mauritanians (Cush, Mizraim and Phut), the author of the ethnological sketch in

[1] Strabo, 16, 779.

[2] Strabo, 16, 778. Diod. 3, 42. Agatharchid. ap. Huds. Geogr. Min. 1, p. 64. Vincent's Periplus, 2, 361.

[3] Strabo, 766. Compare 1, 42. Steph. Byz. s. v. Ptolemy, 6, 7, calls Dora Θαρώ.

[4] They were in islands, probably the Bahrein, now the seat of a pearl-fishery. "Tylos insula, plurimis margaritis celeberrima." Plin. H. N. 6, 28. He places Tylos on the coast opposite to the island.

[5] Vincent's Periplus, 2, 63.

Genesis evidently designed to reckon the Canaanites among those nations whose *adust* complexion indicated a more southern climate than that of the Israelites themselves, whose progenitors were natives of northern Mesopotamia. The difficulty which has been felt in admitting that the Canaanites belonged to the race of Ham, while their language proved their affinity to nations descended from Shem, vanishes when we observe that colour, and not language, was the principle of classification. The narrative of Genesis implies this. "These," it is said, "are the sons of Ham after their families, *after their tongues*, in their countries and in their nations," indicating that varieties of language prevailed among them. In our modern ethnology, the fair German, the dusky Persian, and the swarthy Indian are classed under one family, from similarity of language, though one belongs to the descendents of Japheth and the other of Ham: where colour was adopted as the principle of classification, diversity of language would in the same way be overlooked. Even supposing that the Phœnicians, when they migrated, spoke a dialect more Arabic than Hebrew, they may in the course of time have adopted that of the country. The progenitors of the Jews must have spoken Syriac, not Hebrew, that is Canaanitic.

When we examine the Book of Genesis, we see that the narrative of the Flood, and that of the commencement of history in the Plain of Shinar are two distinct traditions of different local origin, and that there is a chasm between them, which though bridged over by an artificial chronology, has not been closed by the juxtaposition of the two documents. The narrative of the Flood leaves us in Armenia; the eleventh chapter

describes mankind as travelling *from the East* to the Babylonian plain[1]. Now the traditions of the Babylonians themselves[2] represented their civilization as coming to them from the head of the Persian Gulf, the original home of the Phœnicians, a country which really lies to the south-east of Babylon, and which a writer in Palestine or Egypt would very appropriately designate as the East. We have thus a strong confirmation of the account of their own origin which the Phœnicians gave to Herodotus. The population of southern and eastern Arabia and Babylonia no doubt used a language allied to the Hebrew and Phœnician; yet they too are referred to the stock of Ham[3]. They probably resembled in colour the Abessinians, who live under nearly the same latitude, and speak a Semitic language. What was the actual colour of the people of Canaan we know not; but the name of Leucosyrians (White Syrians) given to the Cappadocians who bordered Syria and Phœnicia on the north, shows that they were darker than the inhabitants of Asia Minor[4].

It must have been the dark colour of the people of Palestine, joined with the tradition of a southern and eastern origin, which led the Greeks to suppose that

[1] The hypotheses to which critics have had recourse, to explain this phrase, may be seen in Calmet (KEDEM) and the commentators.

[2] Berosus ap. Sync. p. 28.

[3] Gen. 10, 7. Raama, the Rhegma of Ptolemy (6, 7) and Dedan, placed among the descendents of Cush, were situated near the Persian Gulf, the supposed home of the Phœnicians. The Syrians in the 5th century after Christ call the Himyarite Arabs, Cushites: Munk, Palestine, 432, quoting Assemann.

[4] Strabo (12, p. 544), speaking of the Cappadocians or Λευκόσυροι, says they were so called κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου σύγκρισιν, ἐκείνων ἐπικεκαυμένων τὴν χρόαν. The last words are a translation of חם, and the equivalent of Αἰθίοψ. 16, 737, he observes that there were black as well as white Syrians.

the coast had been peopled by Ethiopians. Homer recognizes them in his account of the wanderings of Menelaus in the Odyssey (4, 84), where he says he had visited "Cyprus and Phœnice, and the Egyptians, the Ethiopians, Sidonians and Erembi[1], and Libya."

As in later times no Ethiopians lived on the Mediterranean, some supposed that Menelaus had gone by the Canal of Suez into the Red Sea, others that he had gone round by the Straits of Gades, circumnavigated Africa, and entered the Indian Ocean. But as it is clear that he never quitted the Mediterranean, the Ethiopians whom he visited must have occupied the shore of Palestine. Homer distinguishes them from the Sidonians, and later authors place their abode south of Phœnicia, and make Joppa the seat of the kingdom of Cepheus, the Ethiopian[2]. The Ethiopia here spoken of cannot be Ethiopia above Egypt, but must be the eastern Ethiopia, according to the distinction of Herodotus[3], a name which included the dark nations from the confines of Egypt eastward, through the south of Persia to the Indus, whence Susa was made the seat of the Ethiopian Memnon, and the Cushite (Ethiopian) Nimrod, the founder of Babylon. This kingdom of Cepheus was sometimes represented to include Phœnicia. "The kingdom of Cepheus," says Conon, "was in the country which was afterwards called Phœnicia, but then Iopia from Joppa;

[1] The Erembi (Od. δ, 84) are probably Arabs; indeed we find from Strabo, 1, p. 40, that Zeno read Ἄραβας. In the time of Herodotus (3, 5), Arabians occupied the space between Egypt and South Palestine. Strabo, p. 784.

[2] "Syriæ imperitasse Ethiopiam nostroque litori, ætate regis Cephei, patet Andromedæ fabulis." Plin. 6, 35. Connected with this is an hypothesis respecting the origin of the Jews, which made them "Æthiopum prolem, quos, rege Cepheo, metus atque odium mutare sedes perpulerit." Tac. 5, 2.

[3] 7, 70.

and extended originally from the Mediterranean to the Arabs who dwell on the Erythræan Sea[1]." "Syria," according to the Scholiast on Dionysius Periegetes[2], "derived its name from Syrus the Ethiopian; others say from Syrus the Chaldæan." Here is evidently a reference to the double origin of the Syrian population; the Phœnician from Ethiopia, the Jewish from Chaldæa. Ashdod was said to have been founded by one of the fugitives from the Erythræan Sea[3]. The people of Cyprus, which was certainly colonized from Palestine, called themselves Ethiopians[4]. That the name Ethiopian is commonly confined to the people of the southern coast was probably owing to their darker hue, the effect of climate and of an intermixture of the northern Phœnicians with the Syrians, rendering their complexion lighter The vagueness of these traditions must be allowed, but they are a proof that the Greeks believed the coast of Palestine to have been colonized by a dark population, such as they themselves called Ethiopian, and the Scriptural writers "descendents of Ham." Combining these facts with the belief of the Phœnicians themselves, that they had come from the Erythræan Sea, we have a body of evidence which it would not be safe to set aside[5]. The native Phœnician historians have all perished with the exception of Sanchoniatho. His work contains no reference to any immigration of the people, but deduces them from the primæval chaos, through a long succession of gods, to Chna (Canaan) the first Phœni-

[1] Conon ap. Phot. p. 447. Ed. Hoesch, Narrat. 40.
[2] Schol. Dion. Perieg. 897.
[3] Steph. Byz. Ἄζωτος.
[4] Herod. 7, 90.
[5] The account of Herodotus has been called in question by Movers, Die Phonizier, 2, 1, 38. Hengstenberg de Rebus Tyriorum, p. 94.

cian. As the entire progress of society is, according to this account, included in the history of a single country, it is evident that the whole is fictitious, like the fables of the Greeks, who refer the origin of all art and science to their own progenitors. The Book of Genesis assumes the existence of a Canaanite population, originating from the sea-coast, spread over the land at the earliest period when it became known to the progenitors of the Jews, and gives no account of its immigration; but by assigning its origin to Ham, it harmonizes both with the national belief of the Phœnicians and the Greek mythology. We can assign no date, however, to an event connected with the very origin of a nation.

The Hyksos are called by Manetho Phœnician Shepherds, a translation probably of Canaanite[1], and as this could not apply to the civilized inhabitants of the coast, they must have been the wandering tribes of the interior. When expelled from Egypt, they retired to Palestine, and under the name of Jebusites established themselves in the strong country where Jerusalem was afterwards built[2], perhaps also in the region which bore the name of the Land of the Philistines. For although the name of Canaan was given to the whole country as far as the borders of Egypt, that part of the coast which extends from Ekron southward[3] appears to have been peopled under different circumstances, if not by nations of a different origin. In the tenth chapter of Genesis, Mizraim, himself the son of Ham, is said to have been the father of Cas-

[1] See p. 42.
[2] Kenrick, Anc. Egypt, 2, 316.
[3] From Joshua, 13, 3, it appears that Philistia extended from the borders of Egypt to Ekron; north of this dwelt Canaanites, here used in the limited sense for Phœnicians.

luhim, out of whom came Philistim and Caphthorim. The two latter names are elsewhere associated in Scripture. In Deuteronomy, 2, 23, it is said that "the Caphthorim, who came forth out of Caphthor, destroyed the Avites who dwelt in Hazerim as far as Azzah." Hazerim is no proper name, but signifies "villages[1]:" Azzah is Gaza. In Jeremiah, 47, 4, a prophecy delivered when Apries was about to destroy Gaza and lay waste the adjacent country, it is said, "Jehovah will spoil the Philistines, the remnant of the land[2] of Caphthor;" where Caphthor seems to be used, according to the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, as a synonym with Philistia. In Amos, 9, 7, the Philistines are said to have been *brought up* from Caphthor, a phrase commonly used of passing from Egypt to Palestine, but not suitable to a migration by sea. Unfortunately these passages teach us little except that, in times to which tradition reached, and therefore later than the first peopling of Canaan, this part of it had received a population descended from Ham, through the medium of Egypt. Conjecture has been exhausted in endeavouring to determine who were the Casluhim, from whom the Philistines and Caphthorim proceeded[3]. On the whole, we conclude that they were inhabitants of the district Casiotis, between Pa-

[1] "Pagi mobiles Nomadum, ex tentoriis compositi." Mich. Spic. Geogr. 2, 278. The word occurs Is. 42, 11, where the Common Version has very inappropriately "cities of the Desert."

[2] אי which often signifies an island, but also a litoral region, as in Is. 20, 6, where it is used of Azotus.

[3] According to Bochart (Geogr. Sac. 4, 31), the Casluhim were the Colchians. The Jerusalem Targum renders the word *Pentaschœnitæ*, the country near Pelusium and the Mons Casius. Benjamin of Tudela calls Damietta Caphthor, p. 158, Asher's Edit. The notion that the Jews came from Crete (Tac. Hist. 5, 2), does not deserve the stress which has been laid upon it, as a presumption that the Philistines were Cretans, being only an inference from the resemblance between Idæi and Judæi.

lestine and Egypt. This region was always open to the nomadic tribes of South Palestine and Arabia, from one or the other of which the Philistines came. Their evident affinity with the Phœnicians renders it not improbable that their original home was on the Persian Gulf, that they settled in the Casiotis in that great movement of the nomadic tribes which the Egyptians called the Invasion of the Hyksos, and quitted it to occupy the shore of southern Palestine. Philistines is their only historical name; Caphthorim is archaic[1]. Under the former they appear in the patriarchal history in the time of Abraham, who dwelt in peace among them (Gen. 21, 32). At the time of the Exodus, like the other Canaanitic tribes, they had increased greatly in military power; and the Israelites, through fear of encountering them, while their own habits were not military, were led by a circuitous route to the occupation of Canaan. We find mention, in the same region, of Cherethites[2], and it is probably in allusion to this variety of immigrant population, that the Alexandrian translators render Philistim commonly by Ἀλλόφυλοι[3]. Originally they appear to have been more an agricultural than a commercial people; and their earliest towns were not seaports, like those of the Phœnicians. Probably, however, they always shared in the land traffic of Palestine with Egypt, Assyria and Arabia, of which Azotus and Gaza were great emporia[4], and which

[1] 1 Sam. 30, 14. Ezek. 25, 16. Zeph. 2, 5. In the prophets it seems to be an archaic parallelism.

[2] 1 Sam. 30, 14.

[3] The Hebrew name is supposed to have been derived from a root no longer existing in that language, but found in the Ethiopic, פלש "to wander." A more probable etymology would be from פלם or פלש "to make even or level," alluding to the flatness of the coast.

[4] Plin. 6, 32. Mela, 1, 10. See p. 27. 30.

was already active in the time of the patriarchs. The example of the Phœnicians led them to engage in maritime commerce. Ascalon became so powerful in the 13th century B.C., as to obtain a great victory over the Sidonians and compel them to remove to Tyre. From their vicinity to the territories of the tribe of Judah, they were frequently at war with them, and in the age of the Judges reduced them to such a state of subjection that they did not allow them the use of iron[1]. From the facility with which they held intercourse with the Jews, we may presume that their language was essentially the same; though at the time of the return of the Jews from captivity, the speech of Ashdod differed from that of Jerusalem[2]. It is therefore not improbable that they had moved at an early period from Palestine to the country bordering on Egypt, whence they returned to the litoral region in which history first discerns them. Their deduction from Ham by a longer genealogy than Canaan, indicates that their establishment in Palestine was more recent than that of the Phœnicians and Canaanites. They differed in one remarkable point from the northern Phœnicians, who practised circumcision[3], which from the Scripture appears not to have been the custom either of the Philistines[4] or the southern Canaanites[5]. We find also among them traces of a worship more closely resembling the Assyrian and Babylonian than that of the northern Phœnicians, as the Venus Derceto of Ascalon and the fish god Dagon.

[1] 1 Sam. 13, 19.
[2] Nehem. 4, 7-18.
[3] Her. 2, 104.
[4] 1 Sam 18, 25 27. 2 Sam 1, 20.
[5] Gen. 34, 15

If we followed the traditions of Tyre itself, we should assign to it an antiquity far exceeding that of any other Phœnician town[1]. Herodotus, whose curiosity had been awakened by the discovery that the Hercules of the Greeks was younger by many ages than the Hercules of the Egyptians, sailed to Tyre, where he had heard that a celebrated temple of the same god existed. On inquiry into its age, he found that his priests accorded neither with the Egyptian nor the Greek chronology. The temple they said was coæval with the city, and at the time at which they spoke had existed 2300 years[2]. This would give us about 2750 B.C. for the foundation of Tyre. The claim to such antiquity, suspicious from the source whence it comes, cannot be admitted in history unless there be some continuity of events, some fixed dates, some confirmation by monuments. The high antiquity of Egypt is established by all these evidences, but nothing supports the claim of the Tyrian priests to an authentic chronology, ascending 2700 years before our æra. The Phœnician annals, it is true, have perished. If however they had contained any history in these remote ages, would Josephus, who quotes from them to illustrate the history of Solomon, have left them unnoticed in preceding times? Would Eusebius, who has preserved so much of the mythological philosophizing of Sanchoniatho, have omitted altogether the historical information which the Phœnician annals must have contained, if the date assigned to the foundation were really derived from historical records? Tyre is not mentioned in Scripture till the

[1] Meleager, a native of Tyre, calls it Ματέρα Φοινίκων. Anthol. Gr. 7, 428, 13. Movers, 2, 1, 3, note.

[2] 2, 44.

invasion of Palestine by the Israelites[1], while Sidon is called the eldest-born of Canaan in the tenth chapter of Genesis, and alluded to in the dying words of Jacob[2]. In Homer, though the Phœnicians generally and the Sidonians specifically are mentioned[3], the name of Tyre or Tyrian does not occur. The general opinion of the ancients was that Tyre was younger than Sidon and a colony from it[4], though the Tyrians claimed to be the parents of the Sidonians[5], and in later times far exceeded them in power and wealth.

The tribe of Zebulon occupied what was afterwards called Galilee, and lay between the Lake of Gennesaret and the sea-coast; and as in the benediction of Jacob it is said that the border of Zebulon should be unto Zidon, the coast south of Sidon to Carmel, which afterwards belonged to Tyre, was at this time included in the Sidonian territory. The etymology which Justin gives of the name is confirmed by the Hebrew language, in which the root of Zidon signifies 'to catch fish[6].' The name may have alluded to the catching of fish for food, or more specifically to the capture of the shell-fish which furnished the purple dye. The description given by Claudius Julius of the establishment and growth of Dora, a Phœnician colony near Mount Carmel, represents the primitive condition of Zidon and the other towns on the coast. "The rocky nature of the coast, which abounded with the purple-fish,

[1] Josh. 19, 29. "The coast turneth to Ramah, and to the strong city Tyre."

[2] Gen. 49, 13.

[3] Il. ζ', 290. ψ', 743. Od. δ', 615. o', 117. Strabo, 16, 766. The country of Phœnicia generally is called Sidonia. Od. ν', 285.

[4] Strabo, 1, p. 40, 756. Justin, 18, 3.

[5] Tyre calls itself on a coin of the age of Antiochus IV., "Mother of the Sidonians." Gesen. Mon. Phœn. 1, 262.

[6] In Hebrew ציד is used only of hunting, but the Syriac ܨܝܕܐ is a

brought the Phœnicians together here. They built themselves huts which they surrounded with a fosse, and as their industry prospered, they hewed stones from the rock, surrounded themselves with a wall, and made their harbour safe and commodious[1]." The language of Herodotus[2] implies, that after their first settlement on the coast, the Phœnicians speedily applied themselves to navigation and undertook long voyages, and the benediction of Jacob proves, that their country was even then conspicuous as a "haven for ships[3]," since the Jews never were themselves a people of mariners.

The distinction of being the oldest of the Phœnician towns was claimed by Byblus and Berytus, whose territory on the north bordered closely on Sidon. According to Sanchoniatho[4], Cronos (Saturn) surrounded his habitation with a wall, and founded Byblus, the first town on the Phœnician coast, and bestowed it on the goddess Baaltis; he also gave Berytus to Poseidon and the Cabiri. It was so much the custom of the priests in ancient times to exalt the glory of their own temple and deity by ascribing a primæval antiquity to their worship, that the authority of the priest of Byblus would be alone of little weight. The circumstance, however, that these towns are not among those enumerated in the tenth chapter of Genesis in connexion with Sidon, affords a presump-

fisherman (Matt. 4, 18, 19). Hieron. in Ezek. 27, 8, "Sidonii in Hebraico *venatores*," though he is wrong in quoting Ps. 124, 7, "the snare of the fowler," as an example, the word there used being יוקש.

Claudius Julius, in the third book of his Phœnician History, quoted by Steph. Byzant. sub v. Δῶρος.

2 See p. 46.

3 "Zebulon shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and he shall be for a haven of ships, and his border shall be unto Zidon." Gen. 49, 13.

4 P. 28, 36, 38, ed. Orelli. Steph. Byz. s. v. Βύβλος.

tion that they were then independent, while their reputed antiquity hardly allows us to suppose that they had a subsequent origin. The inhabitants of Byblus indeed, under the name of Giblites, are mentioned in the Book of Joshua[1] as distinct from the Sidonians; and as it does not appear to have been designed that the Israelites should possess any of the Phœnician towns on the coast, "the land of the Giblites" must be understood to mean the inland territory dependent on Byblus. The name of Berytus probably does not occur in Scripture[2]; it is said, like Byblus, to be a foundation of Cronos[3], an origin by which a very high antiquity was meant to be ascribed to it. From some traces in the mythological traditions, it has been inferred that both Byblus and Berytus had originally a Syrian population, with which a Phœnician element was gradually intermingled[4]. The inhabitants of Arka, Simyra and Aradus are counted among the progeny of Canaan, and were properly Phœnician settlements. Tripolis, we have seen, was a joint colony of Sidon, Tyre and Aradus. Hamath, the Epiphania of the Greeks, in the valley of the Orontes, was the remotest colony of Canaan on the side of Syria, and from the place which it occupies in the enumeration of Genesis, the latest in its origin. Its territory bounded the land of the Jews on the north[5], and it seems to have been rather a station of

[1] Josh. 13, 5. A Phœnician coin which Gesenius, Mon. Phœn. pl. 36. No. F, refers to Tarsus, is read by Luynes (Satrapies, p. 91) עינאל מלך גבל, Oniel king of Gebal, and referred by him to Enylus, king of Byblus, mentioned by Arrian, Anab. 2, 20. See p. 11.

[2] It has been supposed to be the Berothah of Ezekiel's redistribution of the Land, 47, 16; but as far as we can judge, that was not a maritime town.

[3] Steph. Byz. Βηρυτὸς, πόλις Φοινίκης ἐκ μικρᾶς μεγάλη, κτίσμα Κρόνου.

[4] Movers, die Phonizier, 2, 1, 112.

[5] Josh. 13, 5.

Syrian and Assyrian commerce for the Phœnicians, than a place of strength. As early as the reign of David, we find it under the dominion of an independent prince who entered into friendly relations with Judæa, through jealousy of his powerful neighbours, the Syrians of Damascus[1]. The chronology of these colonies cannot be settled, but they all preceded the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, which took place, according to the common chronology, in the year 1450 B.C.

That event made an entire change in the condition of the tribes which inhabited the interior of Canaan. Entering near the place at which the Jordan discharges itself into the Dead Sea, and beginning with the capture of Jericho, the invaders, during the life of Joshua, possessed themselves of the greater part of the south of Palestine, from Kadesh Barnea on the east to Gaza on the west[2]. The inhabitants of this region were either slaughtered or reduced to slavery, except where the strength of their walls afforded them security. After experience of the inefficacy of insulated resistance, the king of Hazor, a town near the Lake Merom (Semechonitis), which had long exercised the office of head of a confederacy in that part of Palestine[3], formed a coalition, comprising all the nations of Canaan whose possession of their land was threatened by the invasion of the Israelites. It does not appear, however, that any of the maritime states or towns took part in the league. It was defeated by Joshua with great slaughter; Hazor was destroyed[4],

[1] 2 Sam. 8, 9.
[2] Josh. 10, 41.
[3] Josh. 11, 10.
[4] Yet the victory was by no means decisive, or the deliverance permanent, as we find a Jabin,

and the country of the confederated kings, with the exception of the fortified towns, fell into the power of the Israelites. The fugitives were pursued as far as "great Sidon[1]"; but no impression appears to have been made on its territories or that of the other Phœnician towns. The king of Dor, probably at that time not yet become a Phœnician colony, is the only one of the thirty-one petty chiefs mentioned as having been subdued by Joshua, and the conquest was not followed by the possession of the town. In the enumeration of the regions yet remaining to be conquered at his death[2], all the sea-coast from the borders of Egypt to the land of the Giblites is mentioned as given by Jehovah to his people, and it is promised that the Sidonians should be driven out; but in neither case does the possession of the towns themselves appear to be intended. It is certain that neither Aco nor Ecdippa, Byblus nor Sidon, came into the possession of the Israelites; nor is it clear how much of the territory of each was occupied by the tribe of Naphthali, which was the nearest to Byblus, or that of Asher, whose allotment bordered upon Sidon. The inheritance of Dan reached to Japho[3] (Joppa), and this tribe devoted itself to navigation; but the consequence was a loss of martial spirit[4], and Dan remained in his ships during the struggle with Jabin. In regard to most of the territories promised to the Israelites, but from which the inhabitants were not exterminated, it is said that the Canaanites remained

king of Hazor, oppressing the Israelites under the Judges. Judges, ch. 4.

[1] Josh. 12, 23. Arad, mentioned in v. 14, is not the Aradus of the Phœnician coast, but a town in the southern part of Judæa.

[2] Judges, 1, 27.

[3] Josh. 19, 40.

[4] Judges, 5, 17.

as tributaries; but Asher is simply said to have dwelt among the Canaanites, probably in friendly relations with his maritime neighbours; since in the Song of Deborah[1] this tribe also is reproached for continuing on the sea-shore, and not joining in the contest for the national liberty. The tribe of Zebulon extended itself to the sea, and was enriched by the same arts as its Phœnician neighbours, maritime commerce and the manufacture of glass[2]. Commerce and manufactures had not, however, at this time impaired its martial spirit, as it took a leading part in the battle with the forces of Jabin, whose tyranny was oppressive to the northern and western tribes of Israel[3], but less concerned those of the south and east. Issachar appears to have become tributary to its neighbours, but we know not how long this relation lasted[4]. Its chiefs had the reputation of high political wisdom (1 Chron. 12, 32), and nothing indicates that its condition was permanently that of a tributary.

On the whole, the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan may be said to have produced no visible effect on the condition of the Phœnician cities, which had nothing to fear from their hostility or their rivalry. Their relations to each other were entirely different from those of the southern tribes to their neighbours the Philistines. Judah and Benjamin, who inhabited

[1] Judges, 5, 17. "Asher continued on the sea-shore, and abode in its bays."

[2] Gen. 49, 13. Deut. 33, 19. "They shall suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand."

[3] Judges, 5, 14. "Out of Zebulon came they that march in long line under the staff of the muster-master," משכים בשבט ספר, not as in our version, "handle the pen of the writer." The expression points to a more exact enumeration and orderly array of the military forces of Zebulon than that of the other tribes. Comp. 1 Chron. 12, 33.

[4] Gen. 49, 14.

the interior of the country of which the Philistines occupied the sea-coast, were the most warlike part of the nation, and the fertile district around the maritime cities which were included in their grant (Josh. 19, 44–47) must have appeared to them a very enviable possession, when contrasted with their own mountains, and the desert region bordering on the Dead Sea. Their hostilities were therefore perpetual. But Issachar and Zebulon, Asher and Naphthali, to whose share the fertile region of Galilee, the sea-coast, and the valley of the Upper Jordan had fallen[1], were not urged by any similar motive to make aggression on their neighbours. Their agricultural industry[2] would find its reward in the markets of Tyre and Sidon, whose population far exceeded the means of subsistence which their own territory could supply. The traffic between Assyria, Babylonia, Arabia and the Phœnician cities must have passed through their territories, and throughout the East the merchant is usually compelled to pay tribute to every tribe which gives him passage and safe conduct.

How little of military occupation the Sidonians maintained in the inland districts which were dependent upon them, is evident from the history of the seizure of Laish by the Danites[3]. Not being able to possess themselves of the whole of their allotment, and being therefore straitened in their territory, they sent out a detachment, who came to Laish, a town in the valley of the Upper Jordan, then a dependency of Sidon. The emissaries "saw the people that were in Laish how they dwelt careless after the manner of the Sidonians, quiet and secure, and there was no magi-

[1] Compare 1 Chron. 12, 40. [2] Gen. 49, 20, 21. [3] Judges, 18.

strate in the land that might put them to shame in anything, and they were far from the Sidonians[1], and had no business with any man." Accordingly "they smote the inhabitants and burnt the city, and there was no deliverer, because it was far from Sidon." The chronology of the whole book of Judges is obscure, and the relation of this portion of it to the rest is uncertain; so that we know not whether this act of spoliation was justified by any hostility between the Israelites and the Sidonians; but they are mentioned among the oppressors of Israel[2], probably from their having joined with the second Jabin, whose force of 900 chariots of iron[3] much exceeds what is credible of the armament of a single chieftain, and a capital which had been destroyed by the Israelites under Joshua.

Had the original conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, or their subsequent wars, given them possession of the towns of the sea-coast, we might have expected to find that the inhabitants, availing themselves of their fleets, had withdrawn from the extermination or slavery which awaited them, and settled in foreign countries. Nothing of this kind appears to have occurred. Wherever the books of Joshua and Judges record the fate of the Canaanites, they are put to death, or reduced to slavery; or, on the milder condition of tribute, are allowed to remain in the land, and blend themselves by marriage with their invaders[4].

[1] Yet according to Josephus (Ant. 5, 3) only one day's journey from the great plain of Sidon. Very mountainous country, however, intervenes between Sidon itself and Paneas or Dan.

[2] Judges, 10, 12.

[3] Judges, 4, 3. Comp. Josh. 11.

[4] Josh. 15, 63. 16, 10. 17, 13. Judges, 1, 27-36. 3, 6.

The Greek traditions of early colonization from Phœnicia refer distinctly to Sidon and Tyre, cities on which the conquest of the Israelites could make no impression, safe as they were in their strength and riches. But the settlement of northern Africa by the Phœnicians in later times, and the consequent prevalence of the Phœnician language and transference of the name of Canaan and Canaanite to the country and its population, appear to have given rise to a notion in the minds of the Jews and Christians who inhabited this region, that there was some historical connexion between these names and the Canaan and Canaanite of the Old Testament. Procopius[1], the historian of the Emperor Justinian, in his account of the war of Belisarius in Mauritania, relates that the Gergesites and Jebusites[2], and other nations mentioned in the history of the Hebrews, formerly inhabited this region. On their expulsion by Joshua, they first endeavoured to gain a settlement in Egypt; but not being admitted there, went onward through the north of Africa, where they built many cities, and in their progress at length reached and passed the Pillars of Hercules. In this story of a band of fugitives traversing the immense and inhospitable coast of North Africa from Egypt to the Atlantic, founding everywhere cities as they go, we can only recognise one of those fictions which do not even deserve the name of tradition. The evidence which is offered in confirmation is open to great suspicion. Near a fountain in Tingitana (the neighbourhood of Tangier), says

[1] Bell. Vand. 2, 10. V. I, p. 450, ed. Bonn.

[2] The name of Jebusite has been unfortunately chosen, since this tribe was not expelled at the conquest of Canaan (see Josh. 15, 63), but kept possession of its capital to the reign of David.

Procopius, are two stelæ of white stone, engraved with Phœnician letters, with an inscription in the Phœnician language, to this purport: "We are those who fled from the face of the robber Joshua, the son of Nun." Setting aside the improbability that those who might have boasted they had colonized Africa should record by preference of themselves that they had run away from their native land, there are other marks of spuriousness, or at least of arbitrary interpretation. The form of the inscription, in which certain persons, not named or described, speak in the plural number, is wholly unlike that of genuine lapidary documents. The supposed authors, while they do not identify themselves, describe their conqueror most precisely as "Joshua the son of Nun," and thus betray their knowledge of the name by which he is distinguished in Scripture. The oldest genuine inscription in the Phœnician character does not ascend beyond the fourth century B.C. This monument, if erected, as it professes, by contemporaries of Joshua, must date from at least 1400 B.C. We must suppose therefore not only that it had survived the injuries of time, in a legible state, for nearly 2000 years, but that there existed in the age of Justinian learned archæologists who could read and interpret it, though the compositions of the age of Romulus and Numa were unintelligible to the priests who recited them[1]; and to decipher an inscription of the age of Solon is a task for the ablest scholar of the present day. We have learnt from hieroglyphical discovery how little

[1] See Varro, L.L. 6. init. Comp. Polybius, 3, 22, of the first treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians. Τηλικαύτη ἡ διαφορὰ γέγονε τῆς διαλέκτου ὥστε τοὺς συνετωτάτους ἔνια μόλις ἐξ ἐπιστάσεως διευκρινεῖν.

reliance is to be placed on the explanations of ancient inscriptions which their expounders furnished to the inquisitive Greeks. The interpretation of the cuneiform character, as far as it has been perfected, reads the same lesson of distrust[1]. Nor can any greater confidence be accorded to the accounts of Christian chronologers, who deduce the foundation of Tarshish, or the population of the Balearic Isles, from the expulsion of the Canaanites[2]. They were much better acquainted with the wars of Joshua than the gradual diffusion of Sidonian and Tyrian colonization. The tendency of systematic chronologers is to assign precise dates to every event, and bring different histories into relation with each other. As the traces of Greek colonization, and immigration in very different ages, were referred to the war of Troy, so the fact of the western settlements of the Phœnicians was explained by the flight of the Canaanites from Joshua[3].

[1] The only plausible argument for the correctness of the interpretation (for that *a* Phœnician inscription existed there is not doubtful) is that the expression "from the face of Joshua," is a Semitic idiom. Gen. 36, 6. Exod. 14, 5. The story, however, being clearly of Jewish origin, Jewish phraseology would naturally be used in it. Probably the phrase was no less Punic than Hebrew. St. Jerome, commenting on the phrase "he put forth his hand," Gen. 8, 9, says, "Locutio est quam propterea Hebræam puto, quia et Punicæ linguæ familiarissima est, in qua multa invenimus Hebræis verbis consonantia."

[2] The spuriousness of this inscription, received as genuine by Bochart, Grotius, Selden, Huet, and many modern writers, is convincingly shown by A. Van Dale, in his Epistle to Almeloveen, subjoined to his learned work 'De Origine et Progressu Idololatriæ,' 1696. See also Gibbon, 7, p. 198, note 40.

[3] The name Φοῖνιξ appears to be purely Greek, and to denote a red-brown colour, such as is produced by the application of heat. It was used of the colour of a bay horse (Il. ψ', 454), and gave its name to the palm-tree from the colour of its stem and branches. As a name of the people, it described the sunburnt complexion, a still darker shade of which was denoted by Αἰθίοψ or αἴθοψ.

CHAPTER IV.

PHŒNICIAN COLONIES.

In the history of modern nations the establishment of colonies is usually a late event, indicating a settled government, a redundant population, and the possession of the means of transport to distant and unappropriated shores. The reverse seems to have been the case with the two nations who are most conspicuous in the history of ancient colonization—the Greeks and the Phœnicians. The latest historian of Greece confesses that he can give no history of it before the First Olympiad, *i. e.* the eighth century B C Yet many generations earlier than this, colonies of Hellenic race had taken possession of nearly the whole coast of Asia Minor and many of its islands. The first event in the history of the Phœnicians to which a date can be assigned, is the foundation of Gades in the twelfth century B.C., but this event must have been preceded by several centuries of active colonization in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean

The progress of their discoveries and settlements naturally divides itself into three successive æras, determined by the conformation of the Mediterranean basin, which bears traces of a subdivision into three smaller basins[1]. The most eastern of these, extending from the coast of Syria, and including the Ægean and

[1] Humboldt, Cosmos, 2, 480, Transl. Hydrographically it is divided into two deep basins by a ridge extending from Sicily to Tunis. Smyth, Mediterranean, p 136.

the Euxine, has its western limit defined by the promontory of Malea and the island of Crete on the European side, and the projection of Cyrenaica on the African; leaving an interval of 170 miles. The second has a still narrower inlet from the west, its boundaries, Lilybæum in Sicily and the Hermæan promontory near Carthage, being only forty-eight miles distant from each other. The third is that which is entered from the ocean through the Pillars of Hercules, and, ascending to the north along the coasts of Spain and Gaul, returns by those of Italy and Sicily to meet the projection of Africa.

The settlements of the Phœnicians within the first and second of these basins have no definite chronology; they are attested only by mythic legends and traces of early communication. We know, however, that they were expelled from the islands of the Ægean by Minos three generations before the Trojan War. From the story of Dædalus we may infer that when driven from the Ægean they transferred their settlements to Sicily. Their voyages to the south of Spain must have preceded the foundation of Gades, as Tartessus is mentioned in the book of Genesis. We shall endeavour to trace their course from east to west in Asia and Europe, according to the three great divisions of the Mediterranean which we have pointed out. From the coast of Phœnicia to the Straits of Gibraltar s a distance of thirty degrees of longitude; but the Straits were by no means the western limit of their colonies and trading settlements, and those on the northern coast of Africa were of such high importance as to claim separate consideration.

SECT. I.—COLONIES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

At an early period of Phœnician history, it is probable that the island of CYPRUS attracted colonists to its shores. Occupying the deep bay between Syria and Asia Minor, and, at its eastern promontory, distant from Laodicea in Phœnicia only sixty-five miles, it is distinctly visible from the lofty summit of Mons Casius, and must have been the first place visited in those voyages to which, according to Herodotus, the Phœnicians applied themselves upon their settlement on the coast. From its position, if occupied by a naval power, it gives the command of the waters of the Levant and the coasts of Syria and Cilicia. It was the first object of attack by the Assyrians, when they meditated the reduction of Phœnicia, and the king of Persia retained it for himself by the treaty of Antalcidas. Under the name of Chittim[1] it is mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis, and this name was preserved in that of Citium borne by the principal city of the island. It has even been conjectured that the island itself derived its name from that of the Hethites or Hittites, which slightly differs from it[2]. Chittim, however, is placed among the sons of

[1] Joseph. Ant. 1, 6. Χέθιμος δὲ Χεθιμὰ τὴν νῆσον ἔσχεν· Κύπρος αὕτη νῦν καλεῖται, καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς νῆσοί τε πᾶσαι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν παρὰ θάλασσαν Χεθὶμ ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων ὀνομάζεται. All the passages of the ancients are collected by Meursius in his *Cyprus*; there is a monograph on the same subject by Engel, Kypros, two vols. 8vo. See also De Luynes, Num. et Inscr. Cypriotes.

[2] The difference is that between חתים and כתים. In an inscription given by Gesenius (Mon. Phœn. 1, 152), we have מלך רב חתי, *rex magnus Cittæorum*; on which he remarks: "Vix a me impetro quin aliquam necessitudinem intercedere suspicor inter כתים Cyprios et חתים tribum Cananæorum. Quidni enim statuamus *Citienses* Cypri, quos Phœnicum colonos fuisse scimus, ab hoc eorum tribû profectos esse?" The form כית also occurs. Luynes, Satrapies, p. 72. From the in-

Javan (Ion), the son of Japheth, indicating the affinity of its primitive population to that of Cilicia and the western coast of Asia Minor, not of Palestine. Traces of intercourse with Lycia are found in the Cypriote alphabet, which contains characters borrowed from the Lycian. Herodotus (7, 90) reckons colonists from Salamis and Athens, Arcadia and Cythnus among the Greek population of Cyprus. Rhodanim[1] (Rhodes), Elisha (Hellas), Tarshish[2] (Tartessus), are referred to the same stock,—all Europe between the Peloponnesus and the south of Spain being then a blank in Hebrew geography. In the archaic style of prophecy, Chittim appears to have been used generally for the countries of the West[3], even when their distinctions and specific names must have been well known.

The position of Cyprus made it the first link in that long chain of insular and littoral colonization, which ultimately connected Phœnicia with the remotest regions of the West. The island is 140 miles in length, from east to west, and sixty miles in its greatest breadth, from north to south. Two chains of mountains, parallel through great part of their extent, divide it from east to west, into three distinct regions. Mount Olympus, towards the eastern end, rises to a

terchange of these letters כ and ח, Movers explains "the kings of the Hittites" (1 Kings, 10, 29. 2 Kings, 7, 6) of kings of Cyprus. Solomon had reduced the Hittites of Canaan (2 Chron. 8, 7) to a condition in which they could have no kings able to purchase costly chariots, or alarm the Syrians with the idea of a coalition with the Egyptians.

[1] This seems a preferable reading to Dodanim. Comp. Sept. Gen. 10, 4, and the Hebrew text in 1 Chron. 1, 7.

[2] The uniform usage of Scripture leads me to conclude that Tartessus is here meant. Tarsus from its position would seem more suitable, but its name is written תרז on its coins. Luynes, Satrapies, p. 4, 14.

[3] Numb. 24, 24. Jer. 2, 10. Dan. 11, 30.

height of 6590 feet. Between the most northern chain and the sea which separates Cyprus from Cilicia, lies a narrow plain of great fertility, rivalling that of Egypt[1], extending east and west from the ancient Cerynia to the promontory of Crommyon on the one side, and that of Carpasia on the other. The climate on the northern side, from the vicinity of the mountains of Cilicia, is severe. Between this and the southern chain of hills lies the long valley in which were the ancient towns of Limenia, Tamasus and Chytri. Nicosia, the present capital of the island, stands just where the termination of the southern hills allows the valley to open out in a wide plain towards the sea. The river Pedæus ran through this valley to the sea, opposite to Aradus in Phœnicia, and at its mouth stood Salamis, the capital of the kingdom of Teucer. The third natural division of the island is the southern and western coast, from the promontory of Pedalium on the east to Drepanum on the west, where the limestone hills of the interior terminate in Cape Bianco. This is the most fertile and the most genial portion of the island; and from this circumstance, as well as its vicinity to their own coast, would naturally attract the first colonization of the Phœnicians. Snow, if it falls, never lies here beyond a few hours, and the transitions of the seasons are gentle and scarcely perceptible.

Citium, which was probably their earliest settlement, since its name is identical with that which the island bears in Genesis, is situated in a deep bay, between the promontories of Throni on the east and Dades on the west. Its excellence as a harbour is

[1] Æl. H. A. 5, 56.

attested by the circumstance that Larnika, now the chief port of Cyprus, stands upon its ruins. A multitude of inscriptions in the Phœnician character and language have been found here. Although the principal ruins are now nearly a mile from the shore, there is reason to believe that the sea formerly washed its southern walls. There was a large basin now nearly filled up, and a strong castle defended the entrance. Amathus, twenty miles to the west of Citium, was a very ancient city of Cyprus, and from its traditions was no doubt of Phœnician origin[1]. Paphos and Palæpaphos at the south-western extremity of the island, and Golgos near the south-eastern, were the chief seats of the worship of Venus the Celestial, the diffusion of which marked the progress of Phœnician colonization[2]. Idalium, Salamis, Carpasia, Tamasus, and indeed all the principal places of the island[3], had temples to Venus; and if some of them represented the Greek rather than the Phœnician conception of her character, there can be no doubt that the origin of the worship was Phœnician[4]. Of the nine kingdoms into which Cyprus in historic times was divided, Citium, Amathus, Soli, Lapethus, Cerynia, Curium, Chytri, Marion, Salamis, the first five appear from their names or traditions to be Phœnician[5].

From its insular position and the variety of its surface, Cyprus united the productions of various climates. The palm flourishes in the warm plain of

[1] Steph. Byz. Ἀμαθοῦς, πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη, ἐν ῇ Ἄδωνις Ὄσιρις ἐτιμᾶτο. The inhabitants claimed to be αὐτόχθονες, Scylax, s. v.

[2] Herod. 1, 105. As early as the time of Homer Κύπρις had become the common epithet of Venus.

[3] Larcher, Culte de Vénus, 37.

[4] Τὴν Κύπρον οἱ ποιηταὶ θεῶν Ἀφροδίτῃ χαρίζονται, ὥσπερ τὸν Δῆλον Ἀπόλλωνι. Πανδήμῳ δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ πρὸς τὴν Οὐρανίαν οὐδὲν κοινόν. Himerius ap. Phot. p. 1132, ed. Hoesch.

[5] Movers, 2, 2, 221 note.

Larnika; the wheat, though produced by a most inartificial agriculture, is some of the finest of the Mediterranean. The wine of Cyprus is of such strength, that it is said to retain its quality for a century, and can hardly be drunk till it has been kept for many years. The Greek name of the island was derived from the abundance in which it produced the beautiful plant (*Copher*) which furnishes the *al-henna*, coveted throughout the East for the yellow dye which it communicates to the nails. It was rich in mines of copper, which has obtained from it the name by which it is known in the modern languages of the West; iron ore is found in the hills near Soloe, and traces of ancient workings are visible in other places. Valuable pigments, umber, green, red and yellow, are furnished by the same district, and the manufactures of Cyprus are still remarkable for the brilliancy of their colours[1]. The mountains of the interior are covered with pine, from which tar is obtained by perforation; the carob-tree grows to the size of the largest English oaks. The cedar, which was allowed to attain its full natural growth, reached a height of 80 feet[2]. The box-tree furnished a wood of excellent grain, which the Phœnicians inlaid with ivory. But what must have rendered Cyprus especially a desirable possession to a maritime people like the Phœnicians, was the abundance with which it yielded everything necessary for the construction of a vessel, from the first timber of the keel, till it was launched, fully equipped, into the sea[3]. The southern coast of Cyprus, however, was

[1] Sibthorp in Walpole's Turkey, 1. 78 note.

[2] Theophr 5, 8.

[3] Ammian Marc 14, 8, 14. "Tanta tamque multiplici fertilitate abundat rerum omnium Cyprus, ut nullius externi indigens adminiculi, indigenis viribus a fun-

subject to frequent earthquakes, lying in the line between the Phœnician and Cilician coasts, in both of which they caused great destruction. Paphos was repeatedly overthrown by them[1].

The mention of Cyprus in the Iliad[2] shows that in the times of the Trojan war it was believed by the Greeks to have been already powerful. The name of Cinyras, the supposed founder of the worship of the Paphian Venus, who was variously deduced from Asia Minor or from Syria[3], being identical with that of the Paphian priesthood, cannot be regarded as historical; but the gift which he sent to Agamemnon, a breastplate of lead, gold and tin, and of elaborate workmanship, is a proof that Cyprus was already renowned, like the parent state of Phœnicia, for skill in metallurgy. The name of Belus, who is called king of Cyprus and founder of Citium, is in like manner mythical, and only indicates the Phœnician origin of one portion of the religion of Cyprus, and consequently of its population, Belus having been specially worshiped at Sidon. The Malika, who is said to have been worshiped at Amathus, appears to be the Moloch, Melkarth, of the Phœnician mythology, identical with the Hercules of Tyre[4]. Had the worship of these divinities been confined to certain towns of Phœnicia, we might have inferred that Paphos had been founded by Byblus, Amathus by Tyre, Citium by Sidon. None of them, however, belonged exclusively to any one city, though

damento ipso carinæ ad supremos ipsos carbasos ædificet onerariam navem omnibusque armamentis instructam mari committat." Ezek. 27, 7.

1 "Cyprum quoties vastavit hæc clades! quoties in se Paphos corruit!" Sen. Ep. 91, 9.

2 Il. λ', 24. Cinyras lived, according to Anacreon (Plin. 7, 49), 150 years—a mythic trait.

3 Strabo, 16, 755.

4 Μάλικα τὸν Ἡρακλέα, Ἀμαθούσιοι. Hesych.

they were worshiped there with more splendid rites than elsewhere, and therefore such inferences must be uncertain. Nor can we draw any conclusion in regard to the date of Phœnician colonies from the supposed relative antiquity of the worship of their respective chief deities: the worship of Saturn, though represented as the oldest in their mythological system[1], was not superseded by those of younger deities, but coexisted with them. We may, however, reasonably conclude, that as Cyprus had attained a high preeminence in art before the Trojan war, its occupation belongs to the time when Sidon, not Tyre, was predominant in Phœnicia, and that Sidon would have the principal share in it. The number of independent kingdoms leads to the conclusion that it was effected by many successive migrations.

In pursuing further the course of Phœnician colonization, we are deprived of even this slight means of fixing the chronology. One circumstance, however, appears to warrant the conclusion, that as regards the coast of Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago and the mainland of Greece, it belongs to the earliest period of Phœnician history. Where traditions and legends of Phœnician intercourse are mingled with the mythic history of Greece, they almost invariably relate to its earliest portion, and times long antecedent to the Trojan war. However doubtful the facts of this history, and even the personality of the actors in it may be, we can conceive of no other reason why the Greeks should assign this relative position to all that concerned Phœnicia, except the fact, that it stood at the very threshhold of their historical recollections.

[1] Sanchoniatho ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. 1, 10.

On such a point national feeling may be safely trusted, especially if it contradicts, rather than accords with, national prejudice. Were all historical and monumental evidence swept away, the belief of the English people that the Roman occupation of Britain preceded the Saxon conquest would be a satisfactory proof of its priority. When we find, therefore, that the legends of Agenor in Cilicia, of Europa in Rhodes and Crete, of Cadmus and his companions in Thasos and Bœotia, in Eubœa and in Thera, all refer to a period antecedent to the beginnings of Grecian history, we cannot but conclude that the intercourse with Phœnicia which they shadow forth, long preceded the Trojan war. Nor will this conclusion be shaken by our finding Cadmus called a Tyrian by the poets, and even by Herodotus. Writing when Tyre had absorbed into herself the power and fame of the other Phœnician states, it was natural that he should use Tyrian as the equivalent of Phœnician.

Rhodes, which is mentioned in connexion with Cyprus in the tenth chapter of Genesis[1], was no doubt early visited by the Phœnicians. Though inferior in size to Cyprus, it surpasses it in the fertility of its soil. It possesses excellent harbours, so advantageously disposed, that whether vessels came from Ionia, from Caria, or from Egypt, Cyprus and Phœnicia, they were equally secure of shelter[2]. In later times, after the decline of the naval power of Phœnicia and Athens, Rhodes became the principal naval state in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. The traces

[1] Epiphanius (Adv. Hæres. 30, 25) considers Chittim to include Cypriots and Rhodians. Κίτιοι, Κύπριοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι.

[2] Aristid. Or. 43, quoted by Movers, 2, 2, 247.

of Phœnician intercourse are numerous; those of colonization are less distinct than in Cyprus, but sufficient to justify the conclusion that the Phœnicians were once predominant in the island. Its original population was apparently derived from the adjacent Asiatic coast, which the writer of the book of Genesis includes in the general name of Javan. Conon[1], who wrote in the Augustan age, says the Heliades ruled over the indigenous inhabitants of Rhodes, whom the Phœnicians expelled or subdued, and themselves occupied the island. The Sun, in his physical character of Helios, was the chief deity of Rhodes[2], and the primæval antiquity ascribed to his descendants rests probably on mythical rather than historical evidence. The Phœnicians, according to the same authority, were expelled by the Carians, when they became predominant at sea, and the Carians by the Dorians, who founded the three chief towns of the island, Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus. According to Ergeias, a native Rhodian historian, the Phœnicians were expelled from Ialysus, which they held under their leader Phalanthus, by the Greeks under Iphiclus[3]. The historical fact of the occupation of Rhodes by the Phœnicians was connected by later writers with the war of Troy. According to Dictys Cretensis, Memnon led to that war a host partly of Indians, partly of Ethiopians, by the latter of whom the Greeks often designated the inhabitants of the coast of Palestine[4]. These were embarked in ships under the command of Phalas, and landing at Rhodes, fixed themselves in the towns of Ialysus and Camirus. The Phœnicians,

[1] Phot. p. 454, ed. Hoesch.
[2] Pind Ol. 7, 130.
[3] Athen. 8, c. 16, p 361
[4] See p. 52.

who formed a principal part of the armament, mutinied against Phalas and put him to death, themselves remaining in the towns before mentioned[1]. The same author gives the name of Phalis to the king of the Sidonians, who had been vainly solicited to join in the Trojan war. The three names, Phalis, Phalas, and Phalanthus, are probably the same, the last being more *grecized*, and the root may be that of Philistim and Palestina.

Other traditions indicate the ancient existence of Phœnicians in Rhodes. Cadmus landed in Rhodes on his search for Europa, which is the mythical explanation of the traces of the Phœnicians in various parts of Asia and Greece. He built a temple to Neptune, and left behind him some of his companions, who were incorporated with the Rhodians, and whose descendants retained the priesthood of Neptune at Ialysus. The brazen vase, inscribed with Cadmean, that is, archaic Phœnician characters (Diod. 5, 58), which was found in the temple of the Lindian Minerva, is another proof of early intercourse between Phœnicia and Rhodes. Danaus, to whom the foundation of that temple was attributed, came from Phœnicia to Rhodes on his way from Egypt. On the whole, it is most probable that the Phœnician settlement in Rhodes was the first which introduced civilization among its primæval inhabitants, and that they maintained their ascendency till the rise of the naval power of the Carians. These new settlers reduced the Phœnicians to the occupancy of the three principal towns. From these too they were either

[1] Dictys Cret. 1, 18. 4, 4. In another passage the same author has referred the story to Paphos instead of Rhodes, 6, 10.

expelled by the Dorians, or only allowed to remain in Ialysus as the hereditary priesthood of their native god Neptune. The naval power and insular dominion of the Carians preceded that of the Cretans under Minos, and must therefore have lasted to a century before the Trojan war[1]. Minos either expelled them from the Cyclades, or compelled them to lay aside their piratical practices and serve in his fleets. At the time of the Trojan war, Greeks were in possession of Lindus, Ialysus and Camirus. Whence they came is uncertain. The descent of their leader Tlepolemus from Hercules may seem to indicate a Dorian origin; but at this time the Dorians were not in possession of the Peloponnesus[2]. If, however, subsequently to the return of the Heraclidæ, Peloponnesian or Cretan Dorians under Iphiclus or Althæmenes colonized Rhodes, tradition might ascribe to the Rhodians a participation in the Trojan war, under the command of a son of their great tutelary deity.

From the summit of the mountain in Rhodes on which the Atabyrian[3] Jupiter was worshiped, Ida in CRETE is visible, covered with snow during great part of the year[4]. In this island also we find traces of the Phœnicians, though more faint than those in Rhodes. The nearer the islands lay to Greece, the more completely had the Greek population over-

[1] Thucyd. 1, 4. 8. Herod. 1, 171. They still retained great naval power, and according to the chronologers, enjoyed the *Thalassocraty* in the 8th century B.C. Clinton, F. H. 732.

[2] Strabo, 14, 653, supposes them to have been Æolians and Bœotians, the history of Tlepolemus being connected with that of the Theban Hercules.

[3] Probably the same name as Thabor, which Josephus writes Ἀταβύριον, Ant. 5, 5. טבור, *umbilicus*, corresponds exactly with the form of this hill, which rises from the plain of Esdraelon.

[4] Diod. Sic. 5, 59.

powered the Phœnician. Yet the mythical traditions of Crete point clearly to the establishment of Phœnician worship there; and since the Cyclades, as we learn from Thucydides, were very generally colonized by them, so important an island as Crete would hardly have been neglected. Its position between the Ægean and the Levant, Asia Minor, Egypt and the Peloponnesus, rendered it a most important station to them in the early part of their history, when their naval enterprise had not extended to the western Mediterranean, and facilitated their progress in that direction. Rhodes was distant only 1000 stadia, and the intermediate islands of Carpathus and Casus made the navigation easy for less adventurous seamen than the Phœnicians. The distance from Malea, the southern promontory of Laconia, was one-third less, and was further diminished by the intermediate island of Cythera. In two days and a night the navigator from a southern port of Crete might reach the harbour of Cyrene in Libya, and the Canopic mouth of the Nile, or the western coast of Cyprus, in less than double that time[1].

In the extreme east of Crete, the town of Itanos was said to have been founded by a Phœnician of the same name[2], and it was here that the Theræans found Corobius, who, being engaged in the characteristic manufacture of Phœnicia, the purple dye, had learnt the way to the coast of Africa[3]. Lebena, on the south-eastern coast, is a Phœnician name, alluding to the fancied resemblance of a promontory near it to

[1] Hoeck, Creta, 1, 2. Diod. 4, 17. Σφόδρα εὐφυῶς ἡ νῆσος κεῖται πρὸς τὰς ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην στρατείας.

[2] Steph. Byz. s. voc. He adds, "or one of the Curetes."

[3] Herod. 4, 151. Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, 2, 421.

a lion[1]. The name of Phœnice, or Phœnix, a harbour on the south-eastern coast[2], may be referred either to a Phœnician colony or to the growth of the palm; the former is more probable, as it had also the name of Araden[3]. Gortys or Gortyn, in the fertile plain which extends from the foot of Ida to the southern coast, was the scene of the mythic history of Europa, the Astarte of the Sidonians[4], in whose union with Jupiter we see the blending of the Phœnician with the Greek mythology. Hither the god, under the form of a bull, brought her across the sea from her native city[5]; here was the platanus, which, in memory of their nuptials, never parted with its leaves[6]. Hellotia, an epithet of Gortys, is derived from Hellotis, the local name of the goddess[7], whose adventures were celebrated in a festival called Hellotia[8]. In the same part of the island with Gortyn stood Phæstus, in which Hercules was specially worshiped. That this was originally the Phœnician Hercules may be inferred from the circumstance that he was believed to have assembled a large army in Crete, for his expedition to Libya, Egypt, Iberia and Gaul, which evidently shadows out the progress of Phœnician navigation. No place could be better fitted than Crete for the Phœnicians to prepare themselves for western voyages[9]. Minos, the author of the

[1] Heb. לביא. Copt. *Labo.* The labial, which is lost in Λέων, *leo*, reappears in the German *löwe.*

[2] Acts, 27, 12.

[3] Movers,2,2,260. Arad (Judges, 1, 16) was a Canaanitic local name.

[4] Lucian, D. Syr. c. 4.

[5] Solinus, c. 11.

[6] Plin. H. N. 12, 1 (5).

[7] Γόρτυν· πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο Ἑλλωτίς· οὕτω γὰρ παρὰ Κρησὶν Εὐρώπη. Steph. Byz. s. voc.

[8] Hesych. s. voc.

[9] The name of the island has been supposed to be connected with that of the Cerethites of Scripture, as if David's life-guards had been Cretan archers. 2 Sam. 8, 18. This name is probably however an appellative, denoting *executioners*, from כרת, *to cut.*

civilization of Crete, and founder of its naval power, descended on the one side from the Grecian Zeus, on the other from the Sidonian Europa[1]. Britomartis, the Cretan Diana, was said also to be of Phœnician origin[2]. The Minotaur, to whom youthful victims were sacrificed, by his mixed form and his bloody offerings betrays connexion with Phœnician mythology. The indistinctness of these traditions shows at how early a period Phœnician intercourse with Crete both began and ceased. It was in Crete that the Hellenic nation first attained a consciousness of its own nationality, systematized its mythology, became powerful by sea, and lived under a code of laws. These changes were probably brought about by Phœnician influence, but they tended also to put an end to it. It was not the custom of that people in their early settlements to aim at permanent occupation; and when an independent power arose, rivalling their commerce and controlling their piracy[3], their policy would lead them quietly to withdraw.

The worship of the same goddess, the Sidonian Astarte, called by the Greeks Europa, appears to have been established in many places which the Phœnicians visited or colonized, and to have given rise to the tradition of the voyage of Cadmus to the places in which this or other evidences of Phœnician intercourse appeared. The mythe, in the form in which it has come down to us, is no doubt of Grecian origin, and not of very early date, since it implies that many scattered facts had been observed and artificially connected together. It implies also the

[1] Hom. Il. ξ, 321. Diod. 5, 78.
[2] Antonin. Lib. Met. 40.
[3] Thucyd. 1, 4.

conversion of Astarte from a goddess representing the moon[1], and figured as a cow, or with the head of a cow, into a beautiful maiden, daughter of Phœnix or Agenor the king of Sidon, names which again indicate a Grecian origin. The search for Europa has its counterpart in the wanderings of Io. The Egyptian moon-goddess, Isis, under the symbol of a heifer, having been brought to Argos, the daughter of a Grecian king was fabled to have been changed into a heifer and to have found her way back to Egypt[2]. Europa disappears from Phœnicia and never returns to her native land; but her father commands his sons to seek their sister and not to return till they have found her. Unable to comply with this condition, they settle themselves in various places, and thus the history of Phœnician colonization was brought into that compact and personal form which Greek mythology loved to give to vague and remote tradition.

Cilicia touches, at the Gulf of Issus, the most northern limit of Phœnicia; it abounded, like Cyprus, in materials for ship-building, and from its vicinity to that island might endanger the Phœnician colonies there, if held by a hostile power. Herodotus[3] says

[1] "Mooned Ashtaroth,
Heaven's Queen and Mother both"
Milton, Hymn on the Nativity. Jer. 7, 17.

Europa, as a geographical name, appears to denote "the western or dark land," and must have been given by Asiatic Greeks, as the Chinese call the great island to the east of them *Je-pun*, *i. e.* "source of day." Εὐρώπη, χώρα τῆς δύσεως, ἡ σκοτεινή. Hesych. s. v. The resemblance to the personal name, which is synonymous with *βοῶπις* (Εὐρωπίη, ἡ Ἥρα, Hes.), is therefore accidental, but indicates the original identity of Europa and Hera. See Lucian, Dea Syr. u. s.

[2] Io and Europa so nearly resembled each other, that their histories were blended by the poets and mythologers. Io is made the mother of the Cadmeans, Eurip. Phœn. 842, and Europa the wife of Danaus, Apollod. 2, 1, 5.

[3] Herod. 7, 91.

that the Cilicians had anciently been called Hypachæi, but derived their later name from Cilix the Phœnician, the brother of Agenor. This appears to be so far correct, that the name of Cilicia is Phœnician[1], which alone would be a presumption of early intercourse and intermixture of population, and the coins of Tarsus and other Cilician towns have inscriptions in the Phœnician character and language, exhibiting the names of Persian satraps, Pharnabazus, Syennesis, Dernes[2]. Tarsus itself had a very mixed population, as might be expected in a commercial city bordering on Phœnicia and Assyria, and colonized from Greece. One of its elements was certainly derived from Aradus[3]. Its chief god, whose attributes and rites identify him with the Tyrian Hercules, bears on these coins the name of Baal[4]. Pisidia borders Cilicia on the north and west, and Lycia on the south and east. Near Termessus, where Pisidia and Lycia met, were found the remains of an ancient people, the Solymi, who appear formerly to have been much more widely diffused, and who are mentioned in Homer as subdued by the Lycian hero Bellerophon[5]. The epic poet Chœrilus, contemporary with Herodotus, describing the armies of Xerxes, says, "Behind these came a race of men wonderful to behold, speaking the Phœnician tongue; they dwelt on the Solymian mountains, beside the

[1] Bochart (Geog. Sac. P. 2, 1, 5) derived Κιλικία (τραχεῖα) from חלק, used (Joshua, 11, 17) for a bare mountain. The name written with these letters occurs on a Phœnician coin. Gesen. Mon. Pun. 279. כרכם (Cant. 4, 14), the Hebrew name of saffron, κρόκος, probably gave a name to the mountain Corycus in Cilicia, famous for its production. Plin. 21, 17.

[2] Gesenius, p. 275–287. Luynes, Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies, &c. p. 4 foll.

[3] Dio Chrysostom, Tarsica prior.

[4] See p. 72, note [2].

[5] Strabo, 13, p. 630. Il. ζ', 184. 204.

broad lake[1], with squalid heads, shaven round[2], and above they wore the stripped-off skins of horses' heads, hardened in the smoke." Josephus, by whom these lines have been preserved, considers the Solymian mountains as those of Jerusalem, the lake as the Dead Sea, and the people, as Jews serving in the army of Xerxes[3]. Scaliger and Bochart regard them as the Solymians of Pisidia, and argue hence the extensive influence of Phœnician colonization or migration in this region. The Solymi certainly had a language of their own, different from the Pisidian, Lydian or Greek[4], and Kabalis, the name of their principal district, admits an easy etymology from the Hebrew *Gebal*, a mountain. This interior and rocky region does not indeed seem likely to have been colonized by Phœnicians for the purposes of commerce, but as the coasts of Cilicia and Phœnicia were contiguous, Phœnician tribes may have migrated hither, as they did into Egypt, in early times. Mount Solyma appears from Strabo to have been Takhtalu, which rises to the height of 7800 feet, immediately above the town, harbour and lake of Phaselis[5]. From its elevation and position close to the shore, it would be an appropriate seat for Neptune on his return from the Ethiopians[6]. Cape Phineka, on the adjacent coast of Lycia, retains traces of the ancient name of Phœnicus or Phœnix; and the name of the narrow pass of

[1] Or salt lake, *πλατέη παρὰ λίμνῃ*. See Maltby's note on Ἑλλησποντος, in his edition of Morell's Thesaurus. If this translation be adopted, the reference to the Dead Sea will be decisive.

[2] Τροχοκουράδες.

[3] Cont. Apion. 1, 22.

[4] Strabo, 13, 631. As a people, the Solymi appear in the time of Herodotus to have merged in the Milyæ (1, 173). Tacitus, Hist. 5, 2, mentions the opinion that Jerusalem was named from the Solymi of Homer.

[5] Beaufort, Caramania, p. 56. Strabo, 14, p. 666.

[6] Od. ε', 283.

Mount Massicytus, which scarcely affords a passage between it and the sea[1], has an appropriate etymology from the Hebrew[2]. One word only has been preserved from the peculiar language of this coast, but it confirms in a remarkable manner the supposition of a Phœnician origin[3]. The tradition recorded by Strabo[4], that Cilicians from the Troad had dispossessed the *Syrians* of Cilicia, is substantially the same, the coast as far as the Mons Casius belonging more properly to Syria than Phœnicia. The worship of Saturn also, which prevailed among the Solymi, is probably to be referred to the same cause. In the time of Plutarch, by whom it was mentioned in his treatise on the Extinction of Oracles, it is evident that it had become an evanescent tradition[5].

In regard to Lycia we have no other evidence of the settlement of Phœnicians than that Europa was reputed to have gone thither from Crete, and that Sarpedon, who led a colony hither from Crete, was her son[6]. The recent discoveries in Lycian antiquities have not brought to light any traces of Phœnician population, either in language, art, or written characters. This, however, considering how recent are all Phœnician monuments in countries unquestionably

[1] Strabo, u. s. compared with Ptolem. 5, 3 init. Beaufort, p. 109.

[2] מצוקות, *straits*, from צוק, *to be narrow*. Boch. G. S. I, 6.

[3] In Hesychius we find Σισοκούρα· ροιά· Φασηλῖται, which Casaubon ad Suet. Oct. 45 corrected, with the general assent of critics, into Σισόη· κουρὰ ποιά, Φασ., *i. e.* Σισόη, "a certain mode of cutting the hair—a word in use among the people of Phaselis." The Hebrew word is ציץ, Ezek. 8, 3. Comp. Sept. Lev. 19, 27. Οὐδὲ ποίησετε σισόην. See note [2], p. 87. The custom referred to seems to have been that of cutting the hair close on the forehead and temples, and gathering it in a knot at the back; the περιτρόχαλα κείρεσθαι, which Herodotus (3, 8) and Jeremiah (9, 6) speak of.

[4] Strabo, p. 627.

[5] De Def. Orac. c. 21.

[6] Herod. 1, 173. Οἱ Λύκιοι τὠρχαῖον ἐκ Κρήτης γεγόνασι.

occupied by them, is no valid reason for doubting the tradition. CARIA must have been largely peopled by Phœnicians, since it was called Phœnice by Corinna and Bacchylides[1]. It is probable that to the Phœnicians the Carians owed their early pre-eminence in navigation, and the reputation of being the first people who had a mercantile navy[2] and made improvements in armour[3]. This mixture of the two nations may have given rise to different statements in ancient writers; for according to Thucydides, Carians and Phœnicians occupied the islands of the Ægean before the time of Minos, while Diodorus represents the Carians as becoming predominant after the Trojan war. The custom of the Carians to gash their foreheads in the lamentation for Osiris[4], is analogous to the practice of the nations of Palestine, which the Jews were forbidden to imitate[5], doubtless from its connexion with idolatry; and they used the same pipe (*gingras*) as the Phœnicians, to produce a melancholy music in their religious rites[6]. Ancæus, king of the Leleges, the people who occupied CHIOS and SAMOS before the Ionian migration, was a son of Neptune and Astypalæa, the daughter of Phœnix, a genealogy in which the original foundation of the city appears to be attributed to the Phœnicians. He was not only one of the Argonauts, but steersman of the vessel[7], and is celebrated in the Argonautica of Orpheus[8] for his skill in the stars—a branch of knowledge in which

[1] Athen. 4, p. 174.
[2] Φορτηγοὺς ἀκάτους Κᾶρες, ἁλὸς ταμίαι. Critias ap. Athen. 1, p. 28.
[3] Strabo, 14, 661.
[4] Herod. 2, 61. [5] Deut. 14, 1.
[6] Jul. Poll. 4, 76.
[7] Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2, 867.
[8] Orph. Argon. 208. Ancæus was variously referred to Samos and Caria, or to Arcadia, for the cause of which see Philol. Mus. 1, 106.

the Phœnicians peculiarly excelled[1]. Melicertes, who was worshiped with the sacrifice of infants in Tenedos[2], is identified by this circumstance, as well as his name, with Melkarth, the Phœnician Hercules. His Grecian name Palæmon, "the wrestler," exhibits the Greek conception of this divinity; but his descent from Cadmus, through his mother Ino, indicates his Phœnician origin; and under his Roman name Portumnus, he was the god of prosperous navigation. Lesbos appears to have been a seat of the Cabiriac worship, the diffusion of which belongs to the earliest period of Phœnician colonization[3]. Pronectus, a town of Bithynia, is said to have been founded by the Phœnicians[4]. Phineus, the son of Agenor, was also reputed to have colonized Bithynia, another version of the same fact[5]. The foundation of Salmydessus in Thrace was referred to this same Phineus, and another tradition made him king of Paphlagonia[6]. According to Eusebius, Phœnix the brother of Cadmus colonized this country, which had previously been called Mariandyne[7]. The voluptuous worship of Lampsacus and other places on the Propontis and in

[1] The name *Σάμος* (Strabo, 10, p. 457) meant *high*. This corresponds with its use, as applied to this island, to Samothrace, Samos in Elis, and Samos adjacent to Ithaca. The root סמי is not found in the Hebrew, but exists in the Arabic and Ethiopic. The Greek affords no etymology. Boch. G. S. P. 2, 1, c. 8.

[2] *Παλαίμων βρεφοκτόνος*. Lyc. Cass. 229.

[3] Lyc. Cass. 220. The commentators explain Cadmus as Cadmilus or Mercury, who belonged to the Cabiriac mysteries. Boch. Geog. Sac. P. 2, 1, 9.

[4] Steph. Byz. s. v. Bochart (G. S. P. 2, 1, 10) derives the name Bithynia from בטן, the *nux avellana* or filbert, of which Pontus was the native country. Plin. H. N. 15, 22.

[5] Apoll. Rhod. 2, 178.

[6] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2, 177, 8. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Σήσαμος*.

[7] Euseb. p. 115, ed. Scal. not. p. 37. The author of the Periplus of the Euxine (Huds. Geog. Min. 3, 5) makes Phineus a son of Phœnix the Tyrian.

Bithynia betrays a Syrian or Palestinian origin, and is most readily explained by the same kind of connexion with Phœnicia, as that by which it was transferred to Cyprus. Along this coast the Phœnicians were supplanted by colonies from Miletus. Further eastward on the shores of the Euxine we cannot trace them as colonists; but the Jewish Scriptures attest their intercourse with the Tibarenians and Moschians, who inhabited the metalliferous regions on its southern shores[1]. These have recently been explored, and the extent of their mineral riches more fully revealed[2]: as they include gold, silver, copper and iron, it is not probable that they should have escaped the research of the Phœnicians. The Greeks claimed to themselves the honour of being the first to pass the Symplegades and visit Colchis; but Hercules the Argonaut was the Phœnician deity, and the traces of Cabiriac worship along these shores indicate the early voyages of this people[3]. The story of Athamas, the father of Melicertes, the Phœnician Hercules and patron of navigation, which is the germ of the Grecian mythe, betrays its connexion with Phœnicia by these names, as well as by the proposed human sacrifice which occasioned the flight of Phrixus to Colchis. Thessaly, whence the Argonautic expedition set sail, bordered on the coast of Macedonia and Thrace, in which we find early traces of Phœnician settlements. The Argo was believed to be the first

[1] Ezek. 27, 13. Boch. G. S. 3, c. 12.

[2] Travels in Asia Minor, by W. J. Hamilton, 1, 235. 276. 367. In the time of Tournefort, Egypt and Constantinople were supplied with copper vessels from the mines of Gumiscana, near Trebizond. Eng. Tr. 2, 325. Armenia abounds in the same metal. Ib. 209.

[3] Kenrick's Egypt of Herodotus, p. 281.

long ship which the Greeks built, and this would be the signification of the name in Phœnician[1], though not in Greek. Æa, which was conceived of in the legend as an island or sea-coast, has an obvious etymology in the Phœnician[2]. The Minyæ, of whom the crew of the Argo was composed, are referred in mythology to Thessaly; but historically they are known in Bœotia, in Lemnos and Thera, all places visited and colonized by the Phœnicians[3]. The voyage of the Argo and her return, as variously reported, through the Euxine, the Erythræan Sea, the Lake Tritonis in Africa, the western part of the Mediterranean, the Ocean beyond the Straits, and the Adriatic[4], if taken historically of any single expedition, confounds all physics and geography, but is readily understood as the attempt of a people ignorant of both these sciences, to combine in one narrative the voyages of the Phœnicians to every quarter of the world.

Returning to the Ægean, we find traces of the Phœnicians in the islands which lie off the coast of Thrace, in the deep gulf between the Chersonesus on the east and Athos on the west. IMBROS, the first of these, was a great seat of the Cabiriac worship[5]. In LEMNOS the same worship prevailed; mystic rites were celebrated here, over which the Cabiri presided; and Vulcan, whose name is most frequently mentioned by the Greeks in connexion with this island, was a Cabiriac deity[6], and in the Phœnician mytho-

[1] ארך, *long*.

[2] אי, or as on the Phœnician coins of Ortygia (Gesen. 296), איא, *island*. So the island of Circe, a sister of the Colchian Medea (Od. κ', 135), is Αἶα. Diod. 4, 45.

[3] Müller, Orchomenos, c. 5. 14. 16.

[4] Grote's Greece, 1, 344. 346.

[5] Steph. Byz. s. v.

[6] Hesych. Κάβειροι· πάνυ τιμῶνται οὗτοι ἐν Λήμνῳ ὡς θεοί· λέγονται δὲ εἶναι Ἡφαίστου παῖδες.

logy, the inventor of navigation[1]. In the Homeric times, the Phœnicians appear to have traded here, and the curiously wrought silver vase, which Achilles proposed as a prize in the funeral games of Patroclus, had been a present from them to the Lemnian Thoas[2]. The same Cabiri were the Great Gods for whose worship Samothrace was so renowned, by initiation into whose mysteries, navigators sought protection against the dangers of the Hellespont and the *inhospitable* Euxine[3]. The introduction of these mysteries into Samothrace was attributed to Cadmus, arriving here from Phœnicia in his search after Europa[4]. The whole adjacent coast of Thrace and Macedonia[5] exhibits traces of the Cabiriac worship, and the peninsula of Pallene appears to have been made the residence of Proteus[6] from the same cause, Cabira, the mother of the Cabiri, being the reputed daughter of Proteus[7].

With regard to THASOS, another island on this coast, we have distinct historical evidence of Phœnician colonization. It was celebrated for its mines of gold, which even in the age of Darius were very productive. On the coast, between Œnuræ and Koinuræ, opposite to Samothrace, were ancient workings by the Phœnicians, so extensive, that, according to Herodotus[8], a large mountain had been turned into heaps in their operations. Mount Pangæus, near the subsequent site of Philippi, and the country beyond

[1] Euseb. Præp. 1, p. 35.
[2] Il. ψ', 743.
[3] Virg. Georg. 1, 207. In the Samothracian language, a priest was called Κόης, probably the Hebrew כהן, *cohen*. Hes. s. v.
[4] Diod. 5, 48.
[5] "Summa veneratione coluerunt Macedones Cabirum." Lact. 1, 15.
[6] Virg. Georg. 4, 390.
[7] Pherecyd. ap. Strab. 10, 472.
[8] Herod. 6, 46.

the Strymon, were so rich in the precious metals, that pieces of gold were said to be turned up by the plough, or washed out by the rain in pure lumps[1] in Pæonia. The peninsula of Chalcidice received its name from its mines of copper. The tradition that Cadmus invented here the art of reducing the gold ore, and enriched himself by working the mines[2], is an evidence of its introduction by the Phœnicians. The colonization of Thasos must have been the work of the Tyrians, since the Thasians acknowledged Tyre as their metropolis by establishing a temple dedicated to the special worship of their tutelary deity the Tyrian Hercules[3]; but the commercial connexion with Phœnicia was probably older than the ascendency of Tyre. Thasus, the founder of the town, was said to be a son of Cilix[4]; and it is not unlikely that its earliest colonization was not immediately from Phœnicia, but from Cilicia, where the Phœnicians had settled.

The expression of Thucydides[5], "that Phœnicians and Carians colonized the greater part of the islands of the Ægean," that is, the CYCLADES and SPORADES[6], leaves it doubtful what share belongs to each respectively; but there is abundant evidence, in special traditions, of the former presence of the Phœnicians in many of them. Indeed they lie so directly in the track of navigators proceeding from Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete to the mainland of Greece, that if not colonized, they must have been visited by them. Thera has

[1] Arist. de Mir. Ausc. 45.

[2] Strabo, 14, p. 680. Plin. H. N. 7, 56.

[3] Herod. 2, 44.

[4] Apollod. 3, 11, quoting Pherecydes.

[5] Hist. 1, 8.

[6] See Brondsted, Reise, 1, 55, for this special use of νῆσοι and νησιῶται in the Greek historians.

been already mentioned; besides the evidence of its having been peopled by Phœnicians, which the tradition respecting Cadmus affords, it has been observed that it was celebrated for the production of those embroidered garments which were a characteristic fabric of the Sidonian looms[1]. The worship of Poseidon and Athene, said to have been introduced by Cadmus, may be the effect of later intercourse, as we know, from the example of Athenian inscriptions, that the Phœnicians left memorials of their worship in places which they only visited for purposes of commerce. Anaphe, which lies close to Thera, was said to have been called Membliarus, from one of the companions of Cadmus[2]. Amorgos has the best harbour in the Ægean, and was also celebrated both for the fineness of its webs and the beautiful purple dye which was given to them, probably by a vegetable colouring matter[3]. Melos contained many mineral productions, which must have been very valuable to the Phœnicians for their manufactures. Its alum was next in quality to that of Egypt[4]; its mines of sulphur inexhaustible; and to the heat produced by this substance the ancients attributed the rapid vegetation for which Melos was remarkable, the harvest, it was said, being ripe in thirty days after sowing[5]. The white pigment called *Melinum* derived its name from being

[1] Movers, 2, 2, 268. O. Müller refers the name Ποικίλης, the father of Membliaros, to this art.

[2] Μεμβλιάρον Κάδμος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κατέλιπεν, ἡγεμόνα εἶναι τῶν ἀποίκων. Paus. 3, 1.7. Steph. Byz. s. voc.

[3] Tournefort's Voyage, 1, 114, Eng. Tr. Lysistr. 150, with Schol. Jul. Poll. 7, 74. Yates, Textrinum Ant. p. 311.

[4] Plin. 35, 15 (52). Tournefort, 1, 123.

[5] Theophr. H. Pl. 4, 2. Tournefort, u. s. "The spungy cavernous rock on which Milo is founded is a kind of stove, gently warming the earth, and causing it to bring forth the best wines, figs, and melons of the Archipelago."

found in the greatest purity in this island[1]. Here also we find traditions of an origin from Phœnicia; according to one account, from Byblus, whose name it originally bore[2]. The Lacedæmonian colonists of Melos, in the Peloponnesian war, maintained that it had been occupied 700 years in freedom[3]. We must therefore date the occupation of it by the Phœnicians before the twelfth century B.C. Oliarus, afterwards Antiparos, is said to have been a colony of the Sidonians[4]. Ios was originally called Phœnice. Syrus (Syra) is known from Homer to have been the resort of the Phœnicians, uniting piracy with commerce, in the heroic ages; and Pherecydes, whom some called the instructor of Pythagoras, and others of Thales, was supposed to have derived his wisdom from his knowledge of the Phœnician writings[5]. Siphnus, so rich in gold and silver mines in ancient times[6], can scarcely have escaped a people eager in their search for the precious metals. Cythera, off the coast of Laconia, was celebrated for the fine quality of the purple[7] yielded by the shell-fish of its rocky shore, and was said to have derived its name from Cytherus, a Phœnician[8]. A better proof of its connexion with Phœnicia is the existence here from the earliest times of the

[1] Pliny, 35, 5 (19).

[2] Steph. Byz. s. v. *Φοίνικες οἰκισταὶ πρότερον, ὅθεν καὶ Βύβλος ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τῶν Βυβλίων Φοινίκων.* Fest. s. v. Melos. "Insula dicta est a Melo, qui ex Phœnice ad eandem est profectus."

[3] Thucyd. 5, 84. 112. Müller, Orch. 317.

[4] Heracl. Pont. ap. Steph. Byz.

[5] Od. ο', 415. Suid. s. v. *Φερεκύδης.*

[6] Herod. 3, 57. Paus. 10, 11. The gold and silver are worked out, but the island still produces lead. Tournefort, 1, 136.

[7] "Cythera cum oppido, ante *Porphyris* appellata." Plin. H. N. 4, 12 (19). Comp. Steph. Byz. s. v.

[8] Bochart (G. S. P. 2, 1, 23) derives Cythera from a Chaldee word קתר, signifying *rock*. Movers derives *Κώθων*, the small island (Cerigotto?) near Cythera, from קטן, *small*, 2, 2, 270.

worship of Venus Urania, already alluded to as of undoubted Phœnician origin. In the Homeric poetry Aphrodite bears the name of Cythereia[1]; but a sufficient length of time had already intervened since the Greeks became acquainted with her, for her conversion from the chaste and terrific divinity who was worshiped in Phœnicia, to the voluptuous laughter-loving deity of the Iliad and Odyssey. Probably the affinity of the worship of the armed Venus with the martial tastes of the Spartans, may have maintained her worship here and in Laconia, in which she had also temples[2], and a celebrated statue in a brazen panoply. Being five miles distant from the shore, Cythera afforded such a commercial station as the Phœnicians especially sought. In its haven the merchant ships deposited the cargoes of corn from Egypt or Libya, which supplied the deficiency of the sterile soil of Laconia[3]; and being open to the Cretan and Sicilian seas, it afforded the Phœnician mariner an apt station for piracy, a refuge after his voyage from the East, and a starting-point for a further voyage to the West, without doubling the stormy Cape of Malea[4].

THEBES is the scene of an important part of the mythic history of Cadmus; but regarding it as devised in a later age, in order to connect the scattered traces of Phœnician colonization in Asia Minor, the islands and the mainland of Greece, we need not inquire by what route he and his companions reached Bœotia.

[1] Od. σ', 192. Κυθέρειαν, ὅτι προσέκυρσε Κυθήροις. Hes. Theog. 198.

[2] Larcher, Culte de Vénus, p. 218. The erection of the statue is referred with little probability to an occurrence in the Messenian war.

[3] Thucyd. 4, 53, with Bloomfield's note.

[4] Ἀλλά με κῦμα ῥόος τε, περιγνάμπτοντα Μάλειαν
Καὶ Βορέης ἀπέωσε, παρέπλαγξεν δὲ Κυθήρων.—Od. ι', 80.

The fable represents him as migrating hither from Thrace, which in mythical geography included the sea-coast of Macedonia, and fixing his abode on the acropolis of Thebes at the suggestion of the oracle of Delphi. It is an historical fact that this acropolis bore the name of Cadmea, and the existence of a Phœnician settlement at Thebes was assumed and argued from by the oldest Greek historian[1]. "The Gephyræans," says Herodotus, "to whom the murderers of Hipparchus belonged, were, according to their own account, originally from Eretria; but, as I have ascertained by inquiry, they were Phœnicians, of the number of those Phœnicians who came with Cadmus to the land which is now called Bœotia. Now these Phœnicians who came with Cadmus, to whom the Gephyræans belonged, when they settled in this country, communicated other kinds of knowledge to the Greeks, and specially that of letters, which, as I think, the Greeks did not previously possess." The deliberate opinion of Herodotus, founded on inquiry, is surely entitled to outweigh all those historical speculations which deny to Phœnicia any influence on the civilization of Greece. Whatever may have been the case in regard to the islands of the Ægean, here are distinct traces of a permanent settlement. No visit for mere commercial purposes could have brought the Phœnicians to the inland site of Thebes, nor have led to such an intimate mingling of Phœnician mythology with its history as we find in the legends of this city. In the occupation of the Cadmea by Cadmus, in the fable of the dragon's teeth and the armed men, in his reputation as the inventor

[1] Herod. 5, 57.

of brazen armour, in the significance of his name, which means a suit of armour[1], we have evident traces of a conquest, which, by the use of brazen weapons, the Phœnicians were enabled to make over the native inhabitants of Bœotia, the Aones and Temmices, Leleges and Hyantes, and which they preserved for several generations, till they were expelled by Argives from the Peloponnesus[2]. By the same event, the worship and mysteries of the Cabiri, which were closely connected with Phœnicia, were expelled the Theban territory[3]. The connexion of the history of Bacchus and the introduction of his worship, with the history of Cadmus[4], point to a migration of the Phœnicians from Thrace to Bœotia rather than immediately from Phœnicia. For the oldest mention of the Dionysiac worship in Grecian literature[5] represents Bacchus as in conflict with Lycurgus, king of the Edones, inhabiting the country near Amphipolis[6], and he had no original or special connexion with the Phœnician mythology, though he may have been identified with some of its divinities, by that system of interpretation and syncretism which prevailed in later times. Thrace was the immediate, Lydia and Phrygia the remoter source from which it came into Greece, and Thebes the first place in Southern Greece in which it gained a ooting[7]. The worship of Minerva at

[1] Κάδμος. δόρυ, λόφος, ἀσπίς. Hesych. The root is κάζω, instruo. See in Kenrick's Egypt of Herodotus, p. 269 note, the reasons for considering Cadmus as a Greek word.

[2] Strabo, 9, p. 401.

[3] Pausan. 9, 25, 6. He mentions a temple of the Tyrian Hercules, much older than the Theban, at Thespiæ, 9, 27, 5.

[4] Herodotus, 2, 49, thought that Melampus, who introduced the Dionysiac practices and doctrines into Argos, had received instruction from Cadmus and the Phœnician colonists of Bœotia.

[5] Il. ζ, 130.

[6] Thucyd. 1, 100.

[7] Some of the words connected with the Bacchanalian rites appear to be of Semitic origin; as *Evoe*,

Thebes appears to have been more purely Phœnician. The name Onca, by which she was worshiped there, and which one of the gates of the city bore, is Phœnician[1]. Eubœa is almost a portion of Bœotia; it had in ancient times mines of iron and copper, and Chalcis, which derived its name from them, had received its earliest known colonists from the Phœnicians under Cadmus[2], who had crossed over from the mainland. The Gephyræans, expelled from Tanagra in Bœotia, took refuge in Attica, and established there a mode of worship entirely different from that of the inhabitants, and a temple and orgies of Demeter Achæa, who was probably the Cabiriac deity mentioned by Pausanias[3].

On quitting the territory of Thebes, Cadmus is said to have retired among the Enchelees, an Illyrian people, and the name Illyrian to have been derived from his son[4]. Whether the Phœnicians had reached the eastern shore of the Adriatic by land from Thessaly or Bœotia, or by sea, does not appear; but it could be only from some traces of Phœnician settlement that such a termination was assigned to his wanderings. The conjecture of Herodotus[5], that the affinity

אוי, אבוי, frantic ejaculations, Prov. 23, 29. *Saboe*, from סבא, to drink to excess, Is. 56, 12. *Bassareus*, from בצר, to gather grapes, Lev. 3, 25. *Brisæus*, an epithet of the god as discoverer of honey, from בריז, Chaldee for a honeycomb (1 Sam. 14, 16). Bochart, G. S. P. 2, 1, 18. As Lydia, however, had a Semitic population (Gen. 10, 22), we cannot argue from these coincidences the Phœnician origin of the Dionysiac rites, and these names occur comparatively late.

[1] Ὄγκα, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ κατὰ Φοίνικας. Euphorion ap. Steph. Byz. Hesych. s. voc. Pausanias, 9, 12, speaks of an altar and image of Minerva established by Cadmus. He calls the Phœnician name Σίγα, but the critics correct it into Ὄγγα. There was an image of the goddess at the village of Onca, in Bœotia, said to be set up by Cadmus. See Siebelis' note.

[2] Strabo, 10, p. 447. He says *Arabians*.

[3] 9, 25, p. 759.

[4] Herod. 5, 61. Apollod. 3, 5.

[5] Herod. 2, 56.

between the Greek and Egyptian religions might be owing to a female minister of an Egyptian temple being kidnapped by the Phœnicians, and sold to the temple of Dodona in Thesprotia, implies a belief of maritime intercourse with the countries on the Adriatic in a very early age; and the extraordinary skill in navigation attributed by Homer to the Phæacians of Corcyra[1], might also lead to the belief that Phœnicians, who had made a settlement in this sea, had been their teachers. The Taphians, the ancient inhabitants of Cephallenia, notorious for their piracies, were reputed descendents of Cadmus[2]. The fable of the rocks which dash against each other is repeated in reference to the coast of Illyria, and the reputed burial-place of Cadmus and his wife Harmonia[3]. In the Peloponnesus we find no evidence of Phœnician colonization.

SECT. II.—COLONIES IN THE CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN.

The voyage from Crete or Cythera to SICILY was a bold adventure; the navigator could no longer coast the shores of a continent, or step from island to island within sight of each other, but was in danger of being driven by the prevalent north winds to the coast of Africa, and embayed among the Syrtes[4]. From the western point of Crete to Pachynus or Cape Passaro, the south-eastern promontory of Sicily, was a distance of 4500 stadia, or 480 miles. To the Greeks in the time of Homer it is evident that it was little known. His Trinacria (Thrinakia), "the three-pointed island," can be no other than Sicily, and therefore its outline,

[1] Hom. Od. ζ, 562.
[2] Hom. Od. ο, 426. Etym. Mag. s. voc.
[3] Dion. Perieg. 395, with Schol.
[4] Acts, 27, 17.

as distinguished by the triple promontories of Pachynum, Pelorum, and Lilybæum, must have been ascertained; but all its localities are exceedingly vague. Ulysses is driven by the north wind as he is circumnavigating the Peloponnesus, but of course in a northerly direction, since he was bound for Ithaca, to the Lotophagi, on the coast of the Lesser Syrtis[1], whence, by what length of voyage it is not said, he reaches the land of the Cyclopes[2]. The description of its spontaneous fertility accords very well with Sicily, though Homer does not describe it as on Thrinakia, and the unanimous opinion of the ancients fixed it to the western side of the island. The Æolian islands, the Læstrygons of the coast of Campania, the straits of Scylla and Charybdis[3], are all indicated with sufficient distinctness for their identification, yet with such an absence of measures of time, distance and direction, as to render it impossible to lay down a map of the hero's wanderings. One thing, however, is clear; that in the poet's conception this region lay near the ocean and the western verge of the world. The home of Aurora indeed is said to be in the island of Æa[4], where Circe dwelt; but this is explained by what is said of the land of the Læstrygons, that here "the paths of Day and Night are close to each other[5]." Further west dwell "the Cimmerians, involved in darkness and cloud," in whose neighbourhood is the entrance to the infernal world[6]. How much of this vagueness is owing to the poet's design of throwing a mysterious darkness around the romantic adventures of Ulysses, how much to real ignorance, it is difficult

[1] Od. ι, 81. [2] Od. ι, 105. [3] Od. κ', μ'.
[4] Od. μ', 3. [5] Od. κ', 86. [6] Od. λ', 13.

to say. Long before his time Sicily must have been well known to the Phœnicians and to the Cretans; but an Ionian poet may have heard only by rumour of what lay beyond the Peloponnesus. It was recommended to the Phœnicians, not only by the convenience of its harbours, but by its extraordinary fertility; its corn and wine, its olives and its honey were equally celebrated[1]. In historical times its earliest population were the Sicani and the Sikeli, if they really were different nations, and not, as seems more probable, different names of the same people[2], closely allied to the old Pelasgic population of Southern Italy. At their first arrival, the Phœnicians took possession of the promontories with which Sicily abounds, and the small islands which lie near the coast. The former would be recommended to them by the facility with which they might be fortified on the land side, and the wide outlook[3] which they afforded over the sea; the latter by offering a secure deposit for their goods. The Lipari islands lie near Cape Pelorum on the north-west, and the Ægatian islands near Lilybæum on the west. But the *islets* of which Thucydides speaks were probably smaller and nearer than these, like

[1] "Multa solo virtus; jam reddere fœnus aratris,
Jam montes umbrare olea, dare nomina Baccho,
Nectare Cecropias Hyblæo adcedere ceras." Sil. Ital. 14, 23.

[2] Thucydides (6, 2) derives the Sicani from the river Sicanus in Spain. No such river, however, is known, and the Sicoris (Segre) would have Sicoritæ, not Sicani, as its derivative. I suspect that the real root was an old Greek word answering to the Latin *sica*, *sicula*, a curved sword, a sickle; that it was first applied to the curved headland of Messina, called from that circumstance *Δάγκλη* and *Δρέπανον*, and extended to the whole island by the inhabitants of the opposite coast.

[3] Bochart derives Pachynum from בחון, *specula*. Isaiah, 23, 13. Juno in Virgil (Æn. 7, 289)

"Lætum Æneam classemque ex æthere longo
Dardaniam Siculo prospexit ab usque Pachyno."

Ortygia near Syracuse, lying almost in contiguity with the coast, and accessible for traffic by the natives with the imperfect means of navigation which they had at their command. As the Greek colonies multiplied on this side, and on the southern and northern coasts, the Phœnicians, deprived of their commercial monopoly, and no longer secure when a naval power had arisen in their neighbourhood, withdrew, apparently without a struggle, to the north-western angle of the island[1]. Two circumstances appear to have recommended this district to their choice. Lilybæum is the nearest point of Sicily to Carthage, a Phœnician colony, from which they might expect support; and they were in alliance with the Elymi, who possessed Eryx and Egesta in this region. According to Thucydides, some Trojans, after the capture of the city by the Achæans, embarked on shipboard and fled to Sicily, and, settling near the Sicani, had the collective name of Elymi. There is great reason to believe, however, that, like many traditions of the settlement of fugitive Trojans, this story of the Trojan origin of the Elymi is owing to the worship of Venus, a goddess closely connected with the mythology of the Troad, and more remotely of Phœnicia. On Mount Eryx was one of her most celebrated temples, in which a crowd of hierodulæ was maintained in ancient times[2]; and though we have no historical accounts of her worship here by the Phœnicians, the veneration paid to it by the Carthaginians indicates that she had been originally a Phœnician deity. The people of Eryx believed that the goddess visited Africa every year, and after nine days' absence returned, her de-

[1] Thuc. 6, 2. [2] Strabo, 272.

parture being indicated by the disappearance of the doves,—her return by their reappearance. The image of the goddess too was annually carried to Africa and brought back again[1], and her celebrated temple at Sicca Veneria, in the Carthaginian territory, was said to have been founded by Sicilians[2], a frequent inversion of the true history of religious rites. The wanderings of Æneas served the same purpose in mythology as those of Cadmus,—to connect together and explain traces of ancient religious rites. That of Venus being one of the most ancient, and her worship being specially connected with the history of Troy, various legends were devised to connect her temples with the Trojan story. Dionysius of Halicarnassus makes Æneas, her son, to be the founder of the temple of Cythera[3], which Herodotus refers to the Phœnicians; and probably the account of Thucydides, which brings the Elymi from the Troad, is only an earlier hypothesis to explain the identity of the religions.

This part of Sicily was further recommended to the Phœnicians by the strong positions which it afforded for their towns. Eryx, which is near the sea-coast, is the highest mountain in Sicily with the exception of Ætna. The temple stood on a small plain on its summit; the town, which could only be approached by a steep and difficult road, just below[4]. The ruins of Segesta or Egesta, another of the towns which they

[1] Æl. Hist. Anim. 4, 2. Athen. 9, p. 394. The dove appears with a head of Venus on the coins of Eryx. See Rasche, Lex. Num. s. voc. An inscription found at Segesta mentions a priestess of Venus Urania (Rhein. Mus. 4, 91), who was the Phœnician Venus.

[2] Solinus, c. 27.

[3] Ant. Rom. 1, 50. According to an account in Strabo, 13, p. 608, Æneas and Elymus jointly founded Eryx and Lilybæum. In this form of the legend Æneas explains the worship, and Elymus the name.

[4] Polyb. Bell. Pun. 1, 55.

occupied along with the Sicani, stand on an almost inaccessible height[1]. The harbour of Panormus (Palermo), the noblest in Sicily, lies close to the region occupied by the Elymi, and is mentioned by Thucydides as a settlement of the Phœnicians[2]. Soloeis, on the summit of a steep hill[3], a little to the westward of Panormus, appears to have been in this direction the limit of their occupation. Motye, close to Lilybæum, was situated upon an island about three-quarters of a mile from the shore. During the time of the connexion of Carthage with Sicily, its capacious harbour received their fleets after their voyage from Africa[4], and it was joined by a causey to the mainland[5]. At an earlier period, when no such connexion existed, it would afford the Phœnicians a place of deposit for their merchandise, such as they chose elsewhere along the shores of Sicily[6].

The abandonment of their former commercial emporia by the Phœnicians and concentration of their strength in the north-western corner of the island, as it was consequent on the arrival of the Greek colonists, must have taken place after the year 736 B.C., when Theocles from Chalcis in Eubœa founded Naxos near the foot of Ætna. The settlement of Syracuse by the Corinthians soon followed; Leontini and Catana, on

[1] Fazello quoted by Bochart, G. S. P. 2, 1, 30.

[2] Thuc. 6, 2. On the Phœnician coins Panormus is called מחנת, "camp." Gesen. p. 288. Comp. Gen. 1, 32. Judg. 18, 12.

[3] Derived probably from סלע, 'rock," the scriptural name of Petra (Is. 16, 1), a root of frequent occurrence in Phœnician topography.

[4] Diod. Sic. 13, 54.

[5] Diod. Sic. 14, 47, 48.

[6] Νησίδια τὰ ἐπικείμενα. Thuc. 6, 2. The name, written מטוא on coins, is interpreted by Gesenius (296) "place of spinning," and supposed by Movers (2, 2, 334) to indicate that it was originally a settlement of Phœnician manufacturers. Comp. Diod. Sic. 5, 12, of the manufactures of Malta.

the same coast, were founded a few years later. While the Phœnicians were thus driven from the western side of the island, Carthage was rising in naval power, and able to afford them the aid on which they reckoned. Its foundation, or renovation and enlargement by a Tyrian colony, had taken place about a century before; and it was predominant in the western parts of the Mediterranean, till a rival power arose by the establishment of the Phocæans at Massilia, 600 B.C. This original occupation of the sea-coast and islands of Sicily by the Phœnicians has left nowhere any traces in monuments or inscriptions hitherto discovered. The coins of Syracuse, Panormus, Heraclea and Motye, with Punic legends, evidently belong to the Carthaginian age, and were executed by Greek artists, with that exquisite skill by which the Græco-Sicilian coinage is characterized.

It is probable that Sicily was influenced by Phœnician art, through the medium of Crete, as well as directly from Asia. The legend of Dædalus[1] represents him as flying from Crete to Sicily, and leaving there monuments of his skill, some of which remained, while others had perished by lapse of time. Now Dædalus is an epithet of the great artificer Hephaistos[2], the father of the Phœnician Cabiri. His works are all in that part of the island in which the Phœnicians established themselves. He is received by Cocalus the king of the Sicani, who were in alliance with the Phœnicians; his works were found at Agrigentum, Selinus and Eryx, and the arts, the invention of which is attributed to him, were those which the

[1] Diod. 4, 77.
[2] Mazochi, Tab. Heracl. p. 137, on the Mastrilli vase.

natives had learnt from the Phœnicians. And the story of the invasion by Minos has probably originated in a settlement by Phœnicians from Crete.

The islands which lie more remote from Sicily on the west, celebrated under the name of Ægates, in the wars between the Carthaginians and the Romans, are not recorded to have been occupied by the earlier Phœnicians. Those which lie between Sicily and Africa on the south, Cossyrus or Cossyra (Pantellaria), Lampas (Lampedusa), Gaulos and Melite (Gozo and Malta), were alike important for the intercourse between Phœnicia and the remoter west, and for that between Carthage and Sicily. From the Hermæan Promontory, at the entrance of the bay in which Carthage stood, to Cossyrus was only one day's sail; from Cossyrus to Lilybæum the same distance[1]. All these smaller islands were occupied by the Carthaginians[2]. The coins of Cossyrus exhibit the symbols of the Cabiriac worship, which usually indicate a direct and early derivation from Phœnicia, and also the practice of metallurgy[3]. Melite was a station of much greater importance, and occupied by the Phœnicians before the rise of the power of Carthage. Though in itself a naked rock of white limestone, the same industry which made the steep sides of Lebanon productive by terraces of earth, had brought soil from the continent to Malta, and procured for it the reputation of fertility[4]. "Melite (says Diodorus Siculus[5]) is distant about 800 stadia from

[1] Scylax, c. 110.

[2] Scylax, ibid.

[3] In the inscription of these coins, אי בנם, *insula liberorum* (see p. 92), the latter word probably refers to the youthful form under which the Cabiri were represented. Gesenius, Mon. Pun. 298.

[4] Ovid, Fast. 3, 567.

[5] 5, 12.

Syracuse. It possesses several harbours, various in their accommodation. The inhabitants are wealthy; artificers of all kinds are found among them, of whom the most skilful are those who make linen webs[1], remarkable for their fineness and their softness. Their houses are excellent, and ambitiously adorned with cornices and works in stucco. It is a colony of the Phœnicians, who, extending their commercial operations as far as the western ocean, found this a place of refuge[2], from the excellence of its harbours and its situation in the middle of the sea[3]. Near this is another island called Gaulos (or Gaudos), lying also in the middle of the sea, and furnished with commodious harbours." Diodorus often uses *Phœnician* as equivalent to *Punic*; but the mention of Malta as a refuge in the distant voyages of the Phœnicians, shows that here the Carthaginians cannot be meant. In later times, however, it was occupied by them, and it is doubtful whether the antiquities of Phœnician character which it contains belong to the original colonists or to the Carthaginians. The inscriptions which have been found there appear to have been the work of Tyrians, but not to be older than the age of the Ptolemies. The language, which caused the writer of the book of Acts[4] to call the people of Melita *barbarians*, while acknowledging their humanity, was probably more

[1] *'Οθόνια*, a word originally Phœnician, אטון (Prov. 7, 16), but which in the age of Diodorus was applied also to fabrics of cotton. Yates, Textrinum Antiquorum, p. 265. Comp. Cic. Verr. 2, 72. 4, 46. "Insula Melita Verri textrinum per triennium ad muliebrem vestem conficiendam fuit."

[2] *Καταφύγη*. מלט in Hebrew, is "to escape from danger." Job, 6, 23.

[3] *Κειμένην πελαγίαν.*

[4] 28, 2. So Diod. 5, 16, speaking of Iviça,—*κατοικοῦσιν αὐτὴν βάρβαροι παντοδαποὶ, πλεῖστοι δὲ Φοίνικες.*

Punic than Phœnician, and its present affinity to the Arabic has been caused by the Saracen occupation of the island, from the ninth century to the twelfth. Two temples are mentioned in Malta[1], one dedicated to Hercules, the chief god of Tyre, the other to Juno, the Sidonian Astarte. These still exist, but in ruins of which it is difficult to decide the age. Remains of a third temple have been discovered at Hadjar Cham, near Casal Crendi, in which name that of the god Chamman appears to be preserved, which occurs on one of the Maltese inscriptions[2]. Several sitting figures of female deities have been recently found there; they are of doubtful age and origin, though certainly not Greek, and most probably represent the Phœnician Venus[3]. Gaulos contains the remains of two temples which bear a marked resemblance to the ruins at Casal Crendi and to the shrine of Venus at Paphos, and may therefore be concluded to be Phœnician[4]. Its coins with Phœnician characters, as they, like the inscriptions, indicate the prevalence of the worship of Osiris[5], are probably of the Ptolemaic age.

SECT. III.—COLONIES IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND ATLANTIC.

The Mediterranean, which has been contracted by the projecting coasts of Italy and Sicily on the one side and Africa on the other, and broken by the islands just described, expands again into a wide

[1] Ptolemy, Geogr. 4, 3, ad fin.

[2] Gesenius, p. 108, renders Baal Chamman, *Baal Solaris*, from the root חמ, *calor*. Barth, Wanderungen, p. 195. Movers, 2, 2, p. 351.

[3] Archæologia, vol. 29, p. 234.

[4] Gerhard, Kunst der Phönizier, p. 24. The name of the island appears to have been אנן, Anan. Gesenius, 303.

[5] Gesenius, u. s.

basin westward of this point. The southern coast keeps nearly the same line of latitude, from the vicinity of Carthage to the Pillars of Hercules; but the northern forms a vast bay, sweeping round by the coast of Italy, Liguria, Gaul and Spain, till it nearly meets Africa again: where this bay is the deepest, however, opposite to Liguria, the interval between Europe and Africa is broken by the intervention of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia.

The southern extremity of SARDINIA approaches within 120 miles of Africa, and it must have become early known to the Phœnicians in their voyages to Spain. It produces wheat of the finest quality; the tunny nowhere abounds so much as on its shores, and the algæ and fuci yield in abundance the alkali which the Phœnicians needed both for their dyeing processes and the manufacture of glass. Caralis or Cararis, the principal harbour of the island, and one of the best in the Mediterranean, has a name evidently derived from the Phœnician, and descriptive of its form[1]. The islands of S. Antioco and S. Pietro, adjacent to the south-western angle of the island and to the district of the ancient Sulchi, afford such stations as we have seen the Phœnicians seek in the earliest times, when commerce, not conquest or colonization, was their object. The name of the island *Sardo* is derived with probability from the Phœnician,

[1] קרן, *cornu.*

"Tenditur in longum Caralis, tenuemque per undam
Obvia dimittit fracturum flamina collem."
Claud. de Bell. Gild. 521.

He distinguishes "antiqua ductos Carthagine Sulcos" (518) from Caralis "Tyrio fundata potenti" (520). Καραλία was a Libyan town. Steph. Byz. s. v.

and describes its resemblance to the human footstep[1]. The legend that Dædalus, fearing the invasion of the Cretans in Sicily, fled to Sardinia, is also indicative of early traces of the Phœnicians[2]. Diodorus reckons this island among the places to which the Phœnicians sent colonies, after they had enriched themselves by the silver of Spain. The permanent infusion, however, of a Punic element into its population, it owed to an immigration from Libya, in which Phœnician colonies already abounded. Sardus[3], the son of Maceris[4], the Libyan and Egyptian Hercules, was the leader of this Libyan colony, and gave his name to the island. Hence the population obtained the name of Sardo-Libyans. The colonists did not subdue the inhabitants, but lived, according to Pausanias, in common with them in caves and huts, wanting skill for the construction of houses—an account not very consistent with their having sailed from Africa to the island. The next colonization was of Greeks under Aristæus, the son of Apollo and Cyrene. The connexion of Aristæus, however, with the history of Cadmus, who was said to be his father-in-law[5], leads us back to Phœnicia for his origin, and Diodorus represents him as coming to Sardinia from Africa[6]. If Sardinia received the arts of agriculture by emi-

[1] From צעד, *gressus*, 2 Sam. 6, 13. Boch. G. S. P. 2, 1, 31. The *epenthesis* of R is common. The Greeks called Sardinia Ἰχνοῦσα (ἴχνος), from this resemblance. Paus. 10, 17.

[2] Diod. 5, 35.

[3] Paus. 10, 17.

[4] בעל מעקר is the name of a divinity found on coins of Punic Africa (Movers, 1, 417), probably the same with Maceris.

[5] Hesiod, Theog. 977.

Κάδμῳ δ' Ἁρμονίη, θυγάτηρ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης
Αὐτονόην, ἣν γῆμεν Ἀρισταῖος βαθυχαίτης,
Γείνατο.

[6] 4, 82.

grants from the Cyrenaica, it is probable that Phœnicia had been either directly or indirectly the source of them; for Thera, whence the Grecian colonists of Cyrene came, was inhabited by descendents of the companions of Cadmus[1], and Battus, whom Justin makes the same with Aristæus[2], was one of the Minyadæ. Dædalus was said to have been an associate of Aristæus in founding a colony in Sardinia[3]. Next came the Iberians under the command of Norax, by whom the town of Nora was founded; and these were succeeded by Iolaus, who led hither colonists from Thespiæ and Attica. The dispersion of the Trojans after the capture of their city brought to Sardinia some of the followers of Æneas, who united themselves with the Greeks. At a subsequent time the Libyans came again in greater force, and having nearly exterminated the Greeks, drove the Trojans into the mountains, where they fortified themselves with stakes and masses of rock, and retained the name of Ilians. The whole account of a Trojan settlement appears to have owed its origin to a false etymology of the name Ilians, which was really a corruption of Iolaans. Pausanias himself says that the Ilians entirely resembled the Libyans in form, and in the fashion of their arms, and in their whole mode of life[4]. The Libyans with whom they are compared must have been native tribes in a very low state of civilization. They wore the skins of the *musmon*, or hairy sheep, and dwelt in caves; their whole household furniture

[1] See p. 95.
[2] Justin, 13, 7.
[3] Paus. 10, 17, 3. His chronological objection that Dædalus and Aristæus could not be contemporaries, has no weight in reference to a mythic tradition. See note [2], p. 107.
[4] 10, 17, 4.

consisted of a knife and a cup; their arms were a light shield and a dagger[1].

What the primitive population of the island was, which the Phœnicians found there when they touched at its southern ports on their way to Spain, whether it had come from the coast of Italy[2], or Africa, we can only conjecture. In historical times it appears to have been derived from three principal sources,—immigrations from Africa, represented by the traditions of Sardus and Aristæus; from Greece, represented by Iolaus, and from the south and south-east of Spain, represented by Norax. Iolaus was said to be a native of Thebes, son of Iphiclus the brother of Hercules[3], the Phœnician god, and to have taken possession of Sardinia on the ground that the whole western world belonged to Hercules,—an allegation only plausible, if understood of him as the representative of Phœnician enterprise. Probably therefore the Phœnicians of Bœotia were the real leaders of the Sardinian colony, in which Thespiadæ and descendents of Hercules[4], inhabitants of Attica, possibly Phœnicians also[5], joined. The Greek element, if such existed, must have been small, and early absorbed into the Phœnician; no traces of Greek culture in language, customs or monuments being found in the island. Its ancient works of architecture were attributed to Dædalus, whom Iolaus brought from Sicily[6], and whose name represents Phœnician art, introduced from Crete. The Iberian origin of the colony under Norax is suffi-

[1] Strabo, 5, p. 225.

[2] Strabo, u. s. makes the early population to be Tyrrhenians.

[3] Iphiclus is probably only another name for Hercules. Kenrick's Egypt of Herodotus, p. 72.

[4] Diod. 4, 29. Arist. de Mir. Ausc. 104.

[5] See p. 100.

[6] Diod. 4, 30.

ciently indicated by his alleged birth from Erythia, the daughter of Geryones, whose name being that of the island on which Cadiz stood[1], is also a presumption that it was from Phœnician Spain that the colony came. The name Norax has evidently a reference to those singular remains of ancient architecture, the Nuraghi of Sardinia,—stone towers in the form of a truncated cone, with a spiral staircase in the thickness of the wall, which to the number of 3000 are scattered over the island[2], chiefly in the southern and western parts. Nothing entirely analogous to these has been found in any other part of the world; but they resemble most the Athalayas of Minorca[3], whose population was partly Iberian, partly Libyan. Numerous idols of grotesque form and barbarous workmanship have been found in Sardinia, but their style is rather Etruscan than Phœnician. The Carthaginians, at the time when their naval power was at its height, in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., subdued all the level country, the former inhabitants taking refuge among the mountains, where their manners receded towards barbarism. The Phœnician monuments which have been found at Nora and Sulchi[4] are probably of the times of the Carthaginian ascendency, which lasted to the first Punic war.

CORSICA, the Cyrnus of the Greeks, is separated from Sardinia only by the strait of Bonifacio, seven miles in width, and this interval is lessened by islands which lie between. From its vicinity to the coasts of

[1] Ἐρύθεια ἦν Ὠκεανοῦ πλησίον κειμένη νῆσος, ἣ νῦν Γάδειρα καλεῖται. Apollod. 2, 5, 10. Paus. 10, 17.

[2] Tyndale, Sardinia, 1, 120.

[3] Gerhard, p. 7, calls them Talajots. Gresset de St. Sauveur, Isles Baléares, p. 343. The name is said to signify watch-towers.

[4] Gesen. p. 154. Judas, Étude Démonstrative, p. 182.

Italy, Liguria and Spain, it appears to have received immigrants from all these countries. It was also the first place in which the Phocæans established themselves, when the conquests of Harpagus compelled them to leave their native land and seek an asylum in the western seas. The Phœnicians must have known and named the island[1], but it lay too far out of the track of their voyages to tempt them to colonize it; nor did the Carthaginians, though they joined with the Tyrrhenians in the expulsion of the Phocæans, ever take possession of Corsica. It was a penal settlement for rebels and malefactors, the air being noted for its pestilential qualities, and the greater part of the island was rocky and barren[2].

The Balearic islands, Minorca, Majorca, Iviça and Formentera (the two latter being distinguished as the Pityusæ), have been already mentioned as having sent a colony to Sardinia. From their vicinity to Spain, they were probably first peopled thence, lying in the track of the Phœnicians to that country, the excellent harbours which they afforded would lead them, after they established themselves in Spain, to occupy these islands permanently, especially as the coast of Spain, from the Straits to Tarragona, is very destitute of harbours[3]. The inhabitants were celebrated for the skill and force with which they managed their slings of leather, hemp or rushes; in the wars of the Carthaginians with the Romans, they were almost

[1] Κέρνος or Κύρνος, from קרן, *cornu*. "Corsica insula *multis promontoriis angulosa* est." Oros. 1, 2.

[2] Senec. ad Helviam, 6, 8. Strabo, p. 224.

[3] Strabo, 3, p. 159, 167. Port Mahon in Minorca has one of the finest harbours in the Mediterranean, according to the reply of Andrea Doria to Charles V.:—

"Junio, Julio, Agosto y puerto Mahon
Los mejores puertos del Mediterraneo son."

St. [illegible] p. 154

formidable description of light troops[1]. The name *Baleares* was derived by the Greeks from *ballein*, to throw; but the art was taught them by the Phœnicians, and the name is no doubt Phœnician[2]. We find proofs in Scripture of the great skill in throwing stones with the sling, which the inhabitants of Palestine possessed[3]. The Iberians[4] used the same weapon, and had probably learnt its use also from the Phœnicians. The Greeks attributed the colonization of the Balearic isles to emigrants from Rhodes and Bœotia. If any weight is to be attached to the tradition, which is found only in late authors, we may conclude that the Phœnicians, whom we have found established in both these countries[5], were the real leaders of the emigration. The Rhodians excelled as slingers, and served in this capacity on board the Athenian armament in Sicily[6]. Æbusus (Iviça) received a colony from Carthage 160 years after its own foundation, and during her wars with Rome she occupied all the Baleares. It must always be doubtful, therefore, whether the traces of a connexion with Phœnicia are to be referred to Asia or Africa for their origin[7], but the emblems of the Cabiriac worship, which are found

[1] The name Γυμνήσιαι, which the Balearic islands bore, was supposed to be derived from Γυμνῆτες, "light armed troops."

[2] Strabo, p. 167. Boch. G. S. P. 2, 1, 35, derives it from בעל ירה, "masters of throwing," as Gen. 49, 23, בעלי חצים, "masters of arrows," *archers*; but a substantive seems required for the second part. Æbusus on its own coins is אי בשם, and in Dion. Perieg. 457, and elsewhere, it is read Βοῦσος.

[3] Judges, 20, 16, and the history of David and Goliath.

[4] Strabo, 3, p. 163.

[5] Strabo, 14, p. 654.

"Jam cui Tlepolemus sator et cui Lindus origo
Fervida bella ferens Balearis et alite plumbo."
Sil. Ital. 3, 364.

"Each slinger carried three slings, one in the hand, another on the head, and a third round the body." Diod. 5, 18.

[6] Thuc. 6, 43.

[7] Diod. 5, 16. He says of Eresus, the chief town of the island Æbusus, which he calls a colony

on the coins of Æbusus[1], indicate an early and direct colonization from Phœnicia.

The early intercourse of the Phœnicians with the South of SPAIN is attested by the mention of Tarshish in the genealogical table in the tenth chapter of Genesis. Westward of Hellas (Elisha), Europe appears to have been unknown to the inhabitants of Palestine, or comprehended under the general name of "Isles of the Gentiles[2]," and it can only have been from the reports of the Phœnicians that they had heard the name of Tarshish, the remotest country which the descendents of Japhet had peopled. If this chapter be of the same date with the rest of the book of Genesis, it must have been written in the fifteenth century B.C., and it is credible that even then Phœnician mariners had passed the Pillars of Hercules, and become acquainted with the riches of Tartessus. The mention of *Tarsis* as a gem in the breastplate of the Jewish High Priest (Exod. 28, 20) shows that precious stones were already imported from Spain[3]. The name as used in Scripture always denotes a region, not as in the Greek and Roman writers sometimes a river[4], sometimes a region[5], and some-

of Carthage, Κατοικοῦσιν [illegible] βάρβαροι παντοδαποὶ, πλεῖστοι δὲ Φοίνικες; but he evidently means Carthaginians. The other barbarians would be Iberians and Libyphœnicians from Africa. Movers has collected passages which he thinks indicative of a correspondence in manners between the inhabitants of the Balears, the Libyans, and the Guanches of the Canary Islands. 2, 2, 585.

[1] Judas, Étude Démonstrative, 175.

[2] The Hebrew איים denotes a peninsular sea-coast as well as an island, the ἀκτή of Herodotus, 4, 38.

[3] It is rendered by the Seventy and Josephus χρυσόλιθος. The chrysolite (or topaz "aureo fulgore translucens") was found of extraordinary size in Spain. Plin. 37, 43.

[4] Stesichorus in his Geryoneïs (Bergk, Fr. p. 636; Strabo, 3, p. 148) speaks of Geryones as being born Ταρτήσσου ποταμοῦ παρὰ πᾶγας, evidently meaning the Bætis.

[5] Such appears to have been its general use by the Greek histo-

times a city[1]. The Phœnicians may have discovered this country long before their settlement in the intermediate stations in which we have traced them, by such an accident as drove Colæus the Samian before the east wind, which blows between Sardinia and the Straits with the steadiness of a monsoon[2]; and the account which Diodorus gives of the order of their colonization leads us to conclude that this was the fact. They may also have obtained a knowledge of its existence by their intercourse with the coasts of Africa.

The country of Tartessus, the Bætica of the Romans, the modern Andalusia, was one of the most fertile regions of the ancient world, enjoying the warmth of an African climate, tempered by the mountains which form its boundary. The wide plains through which the Guadalquivir flows produce the finest wheat, yielding an increase of a hundredfold: the oil and the wine, the growth of the hills, were equally distinguished for their excellence[3]. The wool was not less remarkable for its fineness than in modern times, and had a native colour beautiful without dye[4]. Like the other great rivers of Iberia which take their course to the ocean, the Bætis washes down gold from the mountains in which it rises, and, by following it to its source, the rich mines which they contain would be soon dis-

rians and geographers. See Movers, 2, 2, 602.

[1] When this opinion was adopted, it was variously referred to Gades (Fest. Avien. Descr. Orb. 610; Plin. 4, 21), Carteia (Pomp. Mel. 2, 6), and a vanished city between the two arms of the Bætis. Strabo, 3, 148. Paus. 6, 19. This diversity and vagueness are a strong presumption that no such city as Tartessus existed.

[2] Posidonius ap. Strab. 3, 144. He was three months in getting from Spain to Italy, being baffled by the east wind. Ps. 48, 7. "Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind." The *Levanter* is still dreaded by Mediterranean sailors.

[3] "Bætis—quem Bromius, quem Pallas amat." Mart. Ep. 12, 99.

[4] Plin. 8, 48. Mart. 9, 62, 3.

covered. Gold, silver, quicksilver, tin, lead, copper and iron[1] abound in the mountains with which great part of Spain is covered, and especially those in which the Bætis and its tributaries rise. The mythe of the herds of cattle which Hercules carried off from Geryones, indicates the richness of the pastures near the mouth of the Bætis[2]. This river was navigable with boats in ancient times as high up as Corduba, and till the seventeenth century for large vessels to Seville, whence Magellan sailed on his voyage of discovery[3]. The river Anas or Guadiana, which rises near the Bætis, and flows into the Atlantic through a valley almost parallel in its direction, was also navigable to a considerable distance from the sea, and the hills which bordered it were no less rich in metals[4]. The ocean-tides which enter the mouths of these rivers carried ships far up into the land, and the æstuaries which abound along the coast afforded similar facilities to the inhabitants for shipping the various produce of the country. The largest merchant-ships which in the Roman times visited the ports of Naples and Ostia came from Turdetania[5]. On the æstuaries as well as the rivers, towns were built, and artificial canals connected them with each other. The sea was equally productive with the land in the materials of an extensive commerce. The warmth of the waters, and perhaps the greater range which the ocean afforded, caused the fish and conchylia to attain to a size not known in the Mediterranean. The salted eels of

[1] Plin. 3,3,30. Strabo, 3, p. 142.
[2] Justin, 44, 4.
[3] The tide flowed up to Seville. "Alternis æstibus Hispal." Sil. It. 3, 392.
[4] Strabo, 3, 142.
[5] Strabo, 3, 143. 145.

Tartessus were a delicacy at Athenian tables[1], and the Tyrian tunny, which is mentioned along with it, came partly from the same coast, where its favourite food abounded[2].

The region Tartessus corresponded in extent with the country of the Turduli and Turdetani, whose name appears to be derived from the same root[3]. On the west it was bounded by the mouth of the Anas; on the east by the prolongation of the hills which border the valley of the Bætis on the S.E., and terminate in a low sandy point at Cape Trafalgar. In the Roman times, however, the name was more widely extended, and included the coast eastward of Gibraltar, more properly the country of the Bastetani, or Mastii[4]. Beyond the Anas was the country of the Cynetes[5], extending to the Sacred Promontory or Cape St. Vincent, the most westerly point of Europe. The population of the whole of Spain, before the arrival of the Phœnicians, is described by the general name of Iberian[6]; but it may have comprehended tribes speaking different languages, as in the days of Strabo. Possibly the Basque, which is without affinity to the Celtic, and is said to furnish an easy etymology for the ancient names of places[7], may represent the general

[1] Aristoph. Ran. 476. Jul Poll. 6, 63. They grew to 80 pounds.

[2] Strabo, u s. Polyb. ap. Athen. 7, p. 302. Aristot. Hist. An. 8, 19.

[3] The Greeks called the people Τούρτοι, the older Latins *Turti*. See Movers, 2, 2, 612. We find the oriental form of the name in a Latin inscription: "Lesbia, quam tulerat tellus pulcherrima *Tarsis*." Gruter, Insc. p. DCCCCXVII.

[4] Strabo, 3, 141

[5] Herod. 2, 33. 4, 49.

[6] Plin. 3, 3. "In universam Hispaniam M. Varro pervenisse Iberos et Persas, ? Phœnices Celtasque et Pœnos tradit." The Persæ appear to have been introduced from their supposed identity with the Pharusii of Mauritania who had accompanied Hercules. Plin. 5, 8.

[7] Adelung, Mithr 2, 10 Prichard, 3, 17. W. Humboldt, Berichtigungen und Zusatze zu Adelung's Mithridates.

language of the inhabitants of the peninsula before the arrival of the Celts. According to the accounts of the Greeks, an expedition into the western regions by Hercules preceded the settlement of the Phœnicians. In the older writers this has a purely mythic air; the object of the hero's expedition is to carry off the oxen of Geryones; he crosses the sea in the golden cup of the Sun, and returns by the Pyrenees and Graian Alps, giving origin by the way to the nation of the Celts. In Diodorus it has become more historical; Hercules collects a large fleet in Crete, and having on his way destroyed Busiris in Egypt and Antæus in Libya, arrives on the shores of the ocean, where he establishes his Pillars at Abyle and Calpe, and crossing to Iberia defeats Chrysaor of the golden sword, the fame of whose riches had caused him to undertake the expedition[1]. Another version was given by the African histories or traditions which Sallust copied in his Jugurthine War. The army of Hercules, composed of various nations, dispersed itself when abandoned by its leader, and took possession of Africa. Among them were Medes, Persians and Armenians, who were variously incorporated with the natives of Africa[2]. The mention of these nations betrays the origin of the tale in a late age, when the idea of Hercules was no longer confined to that of a Grecian hero or Phœnician god; but he was identified with divinities of Upper Asia, and supposed to have conquered the countries in which they were worshiped, and to have levied armies there. The etymologies by

[1] Diod. 4, 17.

[2] Bell. Jug. c. 18. "Uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, nobis interpretatum est, utque rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant, quam paucissimis dicam. Cæterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit."

which it is supported, of Pharusii from Persians and Mauri from Medes, and the inference that the settlers must have come by sea, because the roofs of the Numidian cottages resemble inverted keels[1], are absurd; nor can any historical conclusion be drawn from them. The Greek traditions are clearly an application of the historical fact of the establishment of the worship of the Phœnician Hercules on the south-western coast of Spain, to the mythe of the Grecian hero. It was a land well fitted for the scene of mythic fiction, and even the soldiers of Decimus Brutus did not approach it without a certain religious awe[2]. From the Sacred Promontory, where the habitable world ceased, it was believed that the actual immersion of the sun's disk, enlarged a hundredfold, could be seen, and even the hissing sound be heard, produced by its descent into the waters of the ocean. Here was the common boundary-line of night and day, from which Helios returned by sailing in his golden boat or cup to the place of his rising in the east[3]. In the island of Erythia, the name of which alludes to the ruddy splendour of the setting sun, his flocks and herds are kept; while the oxen of Hades are fed in the same place, Orthros (the Dawn) being their keeper[4],—light and darkness, the upper and the under world meeting here. The name of Tartessus, it was said, gave rise to that of Tartarus. The conflict of the gods with the

[1] Sallust, u. s.

[2] Florus, 2, 17. "Cadentem in maria solem obrutumque aquis ignem non sine quodam sacrilegii metu et horrore deprehendit."

[3] Stesich. Geryon. Bergk, p. 637. Apollod. 2, 5, 10. Later tradition removed the place of the Sun's evening rest to the Islands of the Blessed in the Atlantic. Athen. 7, p. 296. In the same way the Garden of the Hesperides was moved westward from Cyrenaica to the Straits. Plin. 5, 1.

[4] Apollod. u. s. The cattle were of a deep red (φοινικαί).

Titans had taken place on the extreme verge of creation, the land of the Cynetes[1]. The people of Tartessus, like the Hyperboreans in the extreme north, the Ethiopians in the extreme south, and the Seres in the east[2], were supposed to be endowed with superhuman longevity. Arganthonius their king lived, according to Anacreon 150, according to Herodotus 120[3], according to Silius Italicus 300 years. All these circumstances are indicative of a land vaguely known, but whose locality was in the furthest west, and on the shores of the ocean.

Phœnicia had no doubt been enriched by intercourse with Tartessus during the period of the ascendency of Sidon, before any attempt was made to obtain a permanent establishment there It was believed by the inhabitants of Gadeira that their island was not the first place fixed upon for a colony. The Tyrians, they said, being warned by an oracle to send a colony to the Columns of Hercules, despatched a deputation, which landed first of all on the eastern side of the Straits at the place where the colony of the Hexitani[4] subsequently stood, believing that here were the Columns, but returned, the sacrifices being inauspicious. A second deputation passed the Straits, and finding an island dedicated to Hercules opposite to the town of Onoba[5], sacrificed again to the god, in the belief that the Columns were here; but the victims

[1] Justin, 44, 4.

[2] Pind. Pyth. 10, 65. "Seres—moriuntur omnes centum decem et octo et centum viginti annorum." Expos. Tot. Mund. ap. Huds. G. Min. 3. Compare Pliny's account of Ceylon "extra orbem a natura relegata;" "Vitam hominum centum annis modicam." 6, 24.

[3] Strabo, 3, 151. Her. 1, 163. 3, 23. Silius, 3, 398. "*Ter denos decies* emensus belliger annos."

[4] Comp. Strabo, 3, 156, whence it appears to have been near Malaga. It was a Phœnician colony called Six. Movers, 2, 2, 615.

[5] Saltes, opposite to Huelva.

were a second time unfavourable, and they too returned to Tyre[1]. A third deputation fixed upon Gadeira. Posidonius denounced the story of this oracle, and the consequent deputations, as "Phœnician figments." We may more candidly regard them as indicating that there were other Phœnician settlements within and without the Straits, whose date was uncertain. The places assigned to them, on islands and headlands, are such as they were wont to choose.

For the colonization of Gadeira we have an historical date. It preceded by a few years that of Utica, which was itself built 287 years before Carthage, and as Carthage was founded certainly more than eight centuries before Christ, we are brought to above 1100 B.C. for the foundation of Gadeira[2]. Its site combined all those advantages by which we have seen that the Phœnician settlements were determined. An island twelve miles in length is separated from the coast of Spain by a strait only a furlong in breadth at its narrowest part, and it is again broken into two parts, which are connected by a narrow sandy isthmus, a furlong across, the recess between the island and

[1] I have employed the word *Columns* in the text in accordance with common usage. But the original *στῆλαι* does not necessarily mean a column, but a tablet, erected or sculptured, such as it was customary to employ for recording events, and especially for marking boundaries. Columns (*cippi*), in the stricter sense, were also sometimes employed for this purpose (Strabo, 3, 171). The *στῆλαι* of Hercules meant therefore properly only the limit of his western conquests, and hence so many disputes where they were to be found, till the idea of columns decided in favour of the Rock of Gibraltar and the hill of Ceuta. Tingis (Tangier) was the original seat of Antæus, the "opposite" to Hercules, to whom the coast of Spain belonged. Solinus, 24.

[2] Arist. de Ausc. Mir. c. 146. *'Ιτύκη, ὡς ἀναγέγραπται ἐν ταῖς Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις, πρότερον ἐκτίσθη αὐτῆς τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἔτεσι διακοσίοις ὀγδοήκοντα ἑπτά.* Vell. Paterc. 1, 2. "Ea tempestate (the foundation of Megara) Tyria classis, plurimum pollens mari, insulam Gadeis condidit. Ab iisdem, post paucos annos, in Africa Utica condita est."

the opposite shore forming one of the noblest roadsteads in Europe. Two smaller islands contract the entrance and break the force of the mighty waves of the Atlantic, which render the outer bay unsafe. It was therefore the counterpart of Tyre, affording by its proximity to the land the ready means of commerce, and at the same time security from attack. The Phœnician name Gadir, "an enclosure[1]," probably was derived from the fortification carried across the sandy isthmus to protect the city, which stood, like the modern Cadiz, on the western end of the island. Both in Tyre and in Aradus, the Phœnicians, to attain the advantage of an insular position, compressed their cities into the smallest possible space; the inconvenience was less to them than to any other nation, since so large a portion of their nominal population was always afloat in their navy, or engaged in distant commerce[2]. In Strabo's time, Gades was second only to Rome in numbers[3]. It had then been enlarged by Balbus, who built a new town and joined it to the old[4]; yet with this addition it did not exceed twenty stadia, a little more than two miles, in circumference. In these peaceful times, however, the Gaditanians had diffused themselves over the opposite coast, where Balbus had built them docks—the present port S[ta] Maria,—and over the small island on which the fort of the Trocadero stands, which some supposed to have

[1] Ps. 89, 40, where "defences" would have expressed the meaning of the original better than "hedges."

"Pœnus quippe locum *Gadir* vocat undique septum
Aggere præducto."—Fest. Avien. 610.

[2] Strabo, 3, 168.

[3] 3, 169. His proof of this, viz. that 500 knights were returned at the census, is an evidence perhaps rather of the wealth than the population of Gades.

[4] Strabo, u. s.

been Erytheia, and the original settlement of the Phœnicians[1]. The temple of Saturn stood on the western extremity of the island, that of Hercules on the eastern, where the strait narrows itself to a stadium, and in the Roman times was crossed by a bridge. This temple was said to be coæval with the first establishment of the Tyrian colony[2], and to have remained, without renovation, unimpaired[3]. According to the description of Silius Italicus (a native of the Roman town Italica near Seville), it retained, in the latest times, the primitive mode of Phœnician worship,—an ever-burning fire without any image of the god; served by priests bare-footed and clad in linen[4]. The temple contained an intermittent well, said to fill at the ebb and empty itself at the flood of the tide[5]. The distinction between the Tyrian and the Theban Hercules was well known to the ancients; but after Gades became the resort of merchants and travellers from all parts of the world, the temple of Hercules received offerings and memorials, belonging rather to the Grecian than the Phœnician god[6]. It contained two columns of a metal

[1] Plin. 4, 21. "Erythia—in qua prius oppidum Gadium fuit." He says it was called Erythia, "quoniam Tyrii, aborigines eorum, orti ab Erythræo mari ferebantur."

[2] Appian, Hisp. 2. Θρησκεύεται νῦν ἔτι Φοινικικῶς.

[3] "Vulgatum nec cassa fides ab origine fani
Impositas durare trabes, solasque per ævum
Condentum novisse manus."—Sil. It. 3, 18.

[4] "Pes nudus tonsæque comæ castumque cubile:
Irrestincta focis servant altaria flammæ.
Sed nulla effigies simulacrave nota deorum."—Sil. It. 3, 21.

I see no ground for the remark of Ruperti, ad loc., that Silius has transferred to Cadiz the rites with which Hercules was worshiped in Egypt. The resemblance between them must be traced to an earlier origin.

[5] Strabo, 3, 172. Polyb. 34, 9. Pliny, 2, 97, says there were two wells, one sometimes rising with the flood and sinking with the ebb, sometimes the reverse; the other agreeing with the rise and fall of the ocean.

[6] Philost. ap. Phot. ccxli. p. 1010, ed. Hoesch.

mixed of gold and silver, with an inscription in unknown characters, and therefore variously interpreted as containing mystical doctrines, or a record of the expenses of erecting the temple[1]. The little island between Gades and the continent had also a temple dedicated to Astarte, variously interpreted by the Greeks as Juno or Venus, whence it derived the name of Aphrodisias[2].

The colonization of Gadeira is distinctly referred to the Phœnicians of Tyre; the subsequent occupation of this country by the Carthaginians, and the application of the name Phœnikes to them, renders it difficult to determine the origin of the numerous other towns, bearing names evidently Phœnician, with which the South of Spain abounds. Carteia, the site of which was probably Rocadillo, five miles westward of Gibraltar, and near the centre of the bay, was reputed to have been founded by Hercules, and may therefore be concluded to have been of direct Tyrian origin: its name (קרת, *town*) is evidently Phœnician, but its antiquities are of the Roman times[3]. Malaca, which derived its name from the Phœnician and Hebrew word for *salt*[4], exhibits on its coins traces of the worship of the Cabiri, indicative of a very early age of Phœnician colonization[5], as well as of metallurgic processes, such as we should expect in a city, the

[1] Phil. ib. Ἐπιγεγράφθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίοις οὔτε Ἰνδικοῖς γράμμασιν, οὔτε οἵοις συμβαλεῖν. They were no doubt Phœnician. Strabo, p. 170. We may conjecture that, like the tablet of Marseilles, to be described in the next chapter, they contained ritual directions and a *tariff* of dues and fees.

[2] Plin. 4, 21 (36).

[3] Livy, 28, 30. "Carteia—in ora Oceani sita est ubi primum e faucibus angustis panditur mare." The Carteia of which he speaks, 21, 5, was on the east coast of Spain.

[4] מלח, *malach*. There were here large establishments for manufacturing salt and pickling fish, ταριχεῖα.

[5] Gesenius, Mon. Pun. 312.

neighbourhood of which abounded with mines. The style of its architecture pointed it out as of Phœnician origin[1]. The town of Sexti, Sex, Saxetanorum or Hexitanorum, as it is variously written, between Malaca and Cape de Gata, exhibits Hercules also on its coins[2], and is therefore probably of Tyrian origin. Abdera (now Adra) on the same coast, but further east, is mentioned by Strabo as a Phœnician settlement[3]. It is doubtful whether any towns of properly Phœnician origin are to be found beyond Cape de Palos, where the coast begins to trend to the northward. Carthagena, which lies just beyond it to the west, has the best harbour on this generally inhospitable coast, and its name of *new city* seems to imply that an old town of Phœnician origin existed there before Hasdrubal established his colony[4]. Generally speaking, however, the coast of Spain, which looks to the Sardinian sea, was inhabited by Libyphœnician colonists[5]. It had been early colonized also by Greeks; Saguntum was said to have been founded by Zacynthians 200 years before the capture of Troy[6].

The interior of Andalusia exhibits many names whose etymology is Phœnician, but whether directly, or through the medium of Carthaginian and Libyphœnician settlements, is uncertain. Hispalis or Spalis, Seville, has probably received its designation from the wide *plain* through which the Guadalquivir flows[7].

[1] Strabo, 3, 156.

[2] Gesenius, 308. He reads the name צבא. Movers, שכש, 2, 2, 641.

[3] 3, 157. Gesen. 310.

[4] Movers, 2, 2, 635. There was a tradition of a colony from Cyprus, a Phœnician settlement. Justin, 44, 3.

[5] Scymnus, 195.

[6] Plin. H. N. 16, 40 (79). Hence traditions of Ulysses on this coast

[7] שפל, Sephela. See p 24.

Belon, on the sea-coast between the Straits and Cape Trafalgar, has a name strongly indicative of a Phœnician origin; and Sidon may be traced in the ancient Asido and the modern Sidonia. Even Hispania, the name by which the Romans called the Iberia of the Greeks, is probably Phœnician, and alludes to the rabbits[1] which were a pest to the country. "Tartessian ferrets" are mentioned by Herodotus[2], they were imported from Africa, and trained to their work by the Tartessians.

Strabo, explaining the allusions to the wonders of the extreme west in Homer, says, "the Phœnicians were his informants, who possessed the best parts of Iberia and Libya, before the days of Homer, and remained masters of them till the Romans put an end to their dominion[3]." The last part of this sentence shows that he considered the Phœnicians of Carthage and those of Tyre as virtually the same. He cannot, however, have meant to ascribe to the Carthaginians the knowledge of the south-west of Spain possessed by Homer; this must have been derived from the Phœnicians of Asia. How long the Tyrian colonists of Gades contented themselves with peaceful commerce, when they first attempted the conquest of Bætica, and to what extent they succeeded in it, history does not inform us. Strabo mentions the fact that the greater part of the towns of Turdetania was in his own days inhabited by the Phœnicians[4], as a proof of the extent of their conquests; but here again he evidently includes the Carthaginians. Tarshish is not

[1] שפן, *Saphan*, translated *coney* in our Common Version, Ps. 104, 8, and elsewhere. In Scripture it means, not our rabbit, but the *Hyrax Syriacus*, which much resembles it in form and habits.

[2] 4, p. 192.

[3] 3, p. 150.

[4] 3, p. 149.

mentioned in the historical books of Scripture from Genesis to the time of Solomon[1]. In the 72nd Psalm, written probably on his inauguration, the kings of Tarshish are mentioned as if they were numerous; they may, however, have enjoyed the title and rank of kings, though in subordination to Tyre, which is called by Isaiah (23, 7) "the city which dispensed crowns." It seems probable that the Phœnician colonists of Gadeira were at first faithful to the policy which distinguished the mother state from Carthage, and did not attempt conquest. But the inhabitants of the neighbouring country were alarmed at its growth, and endeavoured to destroy Gadeira; and the Gaditanians applied for succour, the need of which was pressing, not to their distant parent Tyre, but their nearer sister Carthage. The aid was sent, and Gadeira rescued; but the Carthaginians were not content with this, and made extensive conquests in Spain[2]. The date of these is not assigned by Justin, who relates the fact; but as long as the power of Tyre remained unbroken, she no doubt retained her supremacy over Tarshish. Its first serious diminution was caused by the invasion of the Assyrians under Shalmaneser, towards the end of the eighth century B.C., in which, though Tyre itself was not taken, Sidon and the other principal cities of Phœnicia fell off, and Cyprus freed itself from the Tyrian yoke. That this yoke was oppressive to its Spanish dependencies may be in-

[1] The 48th Psalm must have been written after the time of David, since it speaks of Jerusalem as the "City of the Great King," and of its palaces.

[2] Justin, 44, 5. "Invidentibus incrementis novæ urbis finitimis Hispaniæ populis, ac propterea Gaditanos bello lacessentibus, auxilium consanguineis Carthaginienses misere. Ibi felici expeditione et Gaditanos injuria vindicaverunt, et majorem partem provinciæ imperio suo adjecerunt."

ferred from Isaiah's prophecy of the decline of its power, in which he invites the daughter of Tarshish to wander at will over her land, free from any bond of servitude[1]. When the knowledge of Tartessus by the Greeks begins, that is, in the middle of the seventh century B.C., nearly a hundred years later than the prophecy of Isaiah, we find Arganthonius, a king of the country, acting as an independent sovereign, and inviting the Phocæans to settle wherever they pleased in his dominions[2], an invitation which, according to Appian, some of the Greeks accepted[3]. It may have been at this time that Carthage stepped in, as related by Justin, at once to relieve the Gaditanians, hard pressed by the forces of the Tartessians, and to conquer the country for themselves. A passage of Vitruvius connects the invention of the battering-ram with a siege of Gades by the Carthaginians. This machine, which was probably an Assyrian invention, as it appears on the sculptures of Nemroud[4], would become known to the Phœnicians by their wars with the Assyrians, and may have been used by the Carthaginians for the first time to recover Gades from the revolted Tartessians. In later times the Carthaginians excelled in its use, and employed it with fearful effect in the sieges of Selinus and Himera[5]. Other causes combined to weaken the power of Tyre;—the increasing ascendency of Carthage, which took posses-

[1] "Wander through thy land like the river, Daughter of Tarshish, There is no longer any constraint" (lit. girdle. Comp. Acts, 21, 11. John, 21, 18).—Is. 23, 10.

[2] Herod. 1, 163; 4, 152.

[3] Hisp. (6) 2. Comp. Hieron. Proem. ad Cap. iii. Ep. ad Galatas. "Græciæ examina ad ultima Occidentis pervenisse constat. Tartesson, quod nunc vocatur Carteia, Iones locasse referuntur."

[4] See Plates to Layard's Nineveh, 17, 19. Vitruv. 10, 13.

[5] Diod. 13. 54, 55.

sion of Sicily and the Balearic Isles, and the multiplication of the Grecian colonies. Yet she still maintained her commercial greatness, and according to the description of Ezekiel, was never more flourishing than immediately before the siege by Nebuchadnezzar. The metallic riches of Tarshish are particularly mentioned by the prophet among the articles of her commerce, but there is no indication of the exercise of dominion. Her ancient possessions in Iberia passed into the hands of the Carthaginians, who settled colonies of Libyphœnicians in them, but Tyre long continued to carry on commerce with Gades

To the connexion of Bætica, eleven centuries before the Christian æra, with the most civilized portion of Asia, we are probably to ascribe the superiority in civilization which distinguished the Turduli and Turdetani from the other inhabitants of Spain. They professed to have had the art of writing from immemorial antiquity[1], and poems and laws in verse composed in their native tongue. Their written character was different from that of the other Iberian nations[2], and we know of no source but Phœnicia whence it could have been derived. Coins with Phœnician characters have been found belonging to several towns in Bætica—Gades, Malaca, Sex, Abdera, Belon, Besippo[3], but in no other part of Spain. This culture, begun by Phœnicia, was continued by Carthage, and under

[1] Strabo, 3, 139. Σοφώτατοι ἐξετάζονται τῶν Ἰβήρων οὗτοι καὶ γραμματικῇ χρῶνται καὶ τῆς παλαῖας μνήμης ἔχουσι τὰ συγγράμματα καὶ ποιήματα καὶ νόμους ἐμμέτρους ἑξακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ὥς φασι, where Niebuhr, with little probability, conjectures ἐπῶν, 'verses,' and refers this culture of the West to an original source. Hist. of Rome, 1, 113, Eng Tr

[2] That of the Celtiberians closely resembled the Etruscan and Oscan character (see Gesenius, P 3, tab. 2), which is indeed archaic Greek.

[3] Judas, Étude Démonstrative, p. 161.

the dominion of Rome sufficiently attested the Phœnician origin of the Bæticans, although they had adopted the Latin language and Roman manners[1].

We have no traces of Phœnician colonization on the western coast of the Spanish peninsula, though no doubt an active commercial intercourse was carried on there, especially with Lusitania and Gallæcia, which afforded the principal supply of tin, previously to the discovery of the Cassiterides. But the north-western angle of Africa, and its coast towards the Atlantic, were so near at hand, and so tempting from their natural fertility, that it is not probable they were overlooked by the enterprising people of Gadeira. Abyla, no less than Calpe, was one of the Pillars of Hercules; a cave near Tingis was consecrated to him; his temple here was said to be older than that of Gades[2], and the legend of his contest with Antæus denotes the resistance made by the natives to the establishment of a Phœnician colony, which we know to have existed here[3]. Zelis, adjacent to Tingis, but on the Atlantic coast, had probably the same origin[4]. Lixus, 205 Roman miles from the Straits, stood on the river of the same name, and was inhabited on one side of the stream by Phœnicians, on the other by Libyans[5]. South of Lixus was another colony, the Greek name of which, Thumiaterion, probably disguises some Carthaginian word. From this place the coast of Mauritania, which is remarkable for its fertility, appears to have been covered with the commercial

[1] Strabo, 3, 151.

[2] Plin. H. N. 19, 4 (22).

[3] Pomp. Mela, 1, 5. Strabo, 3, 140. He confounds (16, 825) Tinx (Tangier) with Linx or Lixus, as does Pliny, H. N. 5, 1.

[4] Its name appears to survive in Ain Dalia, a little to the south of Cape Spartel.

[5] Scylax ap. Huds. G. M. 53.

settlements of the Phœnicians[1], and to have derived thence the name of Sinus Emporicus. Strabo reckons it among the exaggerations of authors who had left accounts of the coast of Mauritania, that they had spoken of 300 ancient settlements of the Tyrians, which in his own age were deserted, having been destroyed by the Pharusians and Nigretes[2]. He appears in this to have followed the criticism of Artemidorus upon Eratosthenes, whom Strabo willingly depreciates. The number 300 may be an exaggeration, or not designed to be literally taken; but it is incredible that Eratosthenes should have represented a coast as covered with Phœnician settlements where none existed. The expedition of Hanno from Carthage to this coast appears to have been designed to repeople old settlements as well as to found new ones, and a distinction is accordingly observed in the phraseology[3]. The Phœnician *emporia* were rarely places of strength, and they readily yielded to an assailant. Eratosthenes describes them as they had been in the times of the Tyrian power; after its decline they were overpowered by their barbarous neighbours; again colonized in the days of Carthaginian prosperity, and once more destroyed when Carthage lost her ascendency in the western seas. Cerne appears to have been the limit of Phœnician navigation; but this name, which denotes a promontory, appears, like Thule, to have been variously applied, according to the limits of geographical knowledge. The Phœnician colonies hardly

[1] Strabo, 826. Κόλπος ἐμπορικὸς καλούμενος, ἔχων Φοινικικὰς ἐμπορικὰς κατοικίας.

[2] Strabo, 829.

[3] Ἐκτίσαμεν πρώτην πόλιν, ἥντινα ὠνομάσαμεν Θυμιατήριον, § 2. Κατῳκίσαμεν πόλεις καλουμένας Καρικόν τε τεῖχος, κ.τ.λ. § 5. Ed. Kluge.

proceeded beyond Cape Non, opposite to the Canary Islands, the Islands of the Blessed of Greek mythology, the domain of Saturn; the Cerne of Hanno seems to have been Arguin, near Cape Blanco.

SECT. IV.—COLONIES IN NORTHERN AFRICA.

In their progress from the eastern to the western parts of the Mediterranean, the Phœnician navigators could not fail to discover that remarkable projection by which Africa approaches within view of the south-western Cape of Sicily. The headland of the Cyrenaica, to the eastern side of which the dominion of the sovereigns of Egypt extended, is succeeded by the deep and dangerous bay of the Great Syrtis; but as the line of the coast ascends towards the north, in the latitude of 34°, along the bay of the Lesser Syrtis, it again affords safe harbours, and is distinguished by a fertility hardly equalled in the ancient world. "The land near the river Cinyps," says Herodotus[1], "is comparable in productiveness with the soil of Babylonia; the land of the Euesperitæ, on the eastern shore of the Syrtes, produced a hundredfold, but that of the Cinyps three hundredfold." The district of Byzacium[2], which extended hence northward to Carthage, was scarcely less celebrated for its harvests. The whole coast, from Carthage to the Straits, was fertile, though

[1] 4, 198.

[2] Plin. 5, 4. Silius Ital. 9, 204.

"Seu sunt Byzacia cordi
Rura magis, centum Cereri fruticantia culmis."

It was called also Emporeia; "ora est Minoris Syrtis et agri uberis." Liv. 34, 62. Its fertility is celebrated by the Arabic writers; even at present it exhibits traces of its ancient character. Barth, Wanderungen, p. 149, note 34. Sir G. Temple, Excursions, 2, 108, counted ninety-seven stalks on one stem of barley.

less so than Europe or Asia[1], and therefore afforded a tempting site for the colonies of a nation, which had little means of expansion at home. Accordingly we find either Phœnician or Punic settlements from the Syrtis to the southern limits of Marocco, and the influence of their language and culture extending far into the interior of northern Africa.

The ancients reckoned two nations indigenous in Africa—Æthiopians and Libyans, and two immigrants—Phœnicians and Greeks[2]. By Æthiopians were meant the black nations, who extended across the continent from Abessinia to the Atlantic; and by Libyans, those of lighter colour, who lived between the northern boundary of the Desert and the Mediterranean, from Egypt to the Atlantic. The distinction between the Mauritanians, a darker tribe in the extreme west, and the other Libyans, had not then been made by the Greeks. It appears, however, in the still older ethnography of Genesis. Among the sons of Ham is reckoned (10, 6) Phut. This name is generally admitted to denote Mauritania; it was the name of a river in the southern part of Marocco[3]; and as colour is the principle by which this genealogy of nations is arranged, the immediate descent of Phut from Ham indicates, like their Greek name, the depth of colour which distinguished the Mauritanians[4]. The Libyans were divided into a multitude of tribes, who

[1] Strabo, 3, 131. Herod. 4, 198.

[2] Herod. 4, 197.

[3] Plin. H. N. 5, 1, calls it *Fut*. Ptolemy, 4, 1, Φθούθ. Compare Joseph. 1, 6, 2. The Seventy render it *Libyans* (Ezek. 27, 10), evidently as a general name for Africans. "Libyi qui quondam Phutæi appellabantur." Isidor. Hisp. Orig. 9, 2, 11. Another and not improbable etymology is from פוץ, "to scatter," as an appellative of the nomad tribes with which Africa abounded.

[4] Manil. 4, 729. "Mauritania nomen Oris habet, titulumque suo fert ipsa colore." "Græci nigrum *μαυρὸν* vocant." Isid. u. s. 122.

appear to have been considered as all belonging to one indigenous race[1], of similar manners and religion, though various dialect, mingled, however, in blood with their neighbours, and giving rise to the mixed races of Liby-ægyptians, Liby-æthiopians, and Liby-phœnicians. The name of the whole continent, when no reference was made to its separate populations, was Libya, as far south as it was known or conjectured to extend[2].

The ancients were satisfied, when tradition failed respecting the origin of nations, to pronounce them natives of the soil on which they were found. Modern ethnology seeks to ascend higher, and trace western nations to those more eastern regions in which the history of the human race began. The shortness of the interval by which Africa is separated at the Isthmus of Suez and the Straits of Babelmandeb from the countries occupied by the Syro-Arabian nations, and the fact that an Arabian population occupied the country eastward of the Nile, from Syene to Meroe[3], suggests the probability that immigrations from these countries may have taken place earlier than the first settlement of the Phœnician colonists. History affords us no evidence of this; and it seemed improbable that amidst the many changes which the population of North Africa has undergone, any traces should remain of those whom the Greeks considered as the indigenous Libyans. The evidence of language, however, has supplied what was wanting in direct testimony. The Arabian writers mention a people living in that part of Atlas which is included in Marocco, and elsewhere in the higher inland regions, who

[1] Strabo, 17, 828. Herod. 4, 188. [2] Herod. 4, 42. [3] Plin. 5, 34.

spoke a language which they call the African, but the natives *Aquel Amarig* (or *Amazig*), "the noble tongue[1]," different except in a few words from the Arabic which was introduced by the Mahometan conquest. Even when these authors wrote, it was rapidly giving way to the Arabic, which was the general language of the towns. Dr. Shaw was the first of modern European travellers who drew attention to the circumstance that a people still existed among the mountains behind Tunis, speaking a language distinct from the Arabic. Since his time more extensive observations and the comparison of vocabularies have established the fact, that through the whole inland district of North Africa remains of one language may be traced. The tribes by whom it is spoken vary in colour from deep black to fair; they are known by various names,—Berbers in Fez, Shoulouhs in Marocco, Quabyles in Algiers, Beni-Mozab in Beled-el-Jereed, Adeous in Ghadamis, Tuariks in the Great Desert and the Oases of Siwah and Augila; and they have no political unity or consciousness of a common origin[2]. Nevertheless their language shows their original affinity; and the name of Berber, as that of the best known of these tribes, has been adopted to denote the language common to them all. It was given to the mountaineers of the Atlas, as we learn from Leo Africanus, on account of the harshness

[1] Leo Africanus, B. 1, p. 8. Eng. Transl. "The aforesaid five families being divided into hundreds of progenies, and having innumerable habitations, do notwithstanding use all one kind of language, called by them *Aquel Amarig*, that is, the noble tongue. The Arabians which inhabit Africa call it a barbarous tongue; and this is the true and natural language of the Africans."

[2] Prichard, vol. 2, 2, 1. The Guanches, the aboriginal inhabitants of the Canary Islands, are supposed to belong to the Berber race. Prichard, 2, 35. The evidence is chiefly derived from the language.

of their speech, as compared with the Arabic[1], and appears to be only a part of a wide-spread and natural *onomatopœa*, including the βάρβαροι of the Greeks, the Barberia of Ptolemy on the east coast of Africa[2], and the Barabra of Nubia. However harsh a language may be, those by whom it is spoken regard it as more musical than that of their neighbours, on which they bestow some depreciating epithet, assimilating it to the inarticulate sounds of beasts and birds[3].

In judging of the affinities of this language from its remains, great caution is necessary. Northern Africa has received, in historical times, two infusions of a Syro-Arabian language; first, by the colonization of the Phœnicians and the wide-spread dominion of Carthage; and secondly, by the conquest of the Mahometans. The marked distinction, however, which writers like Leo Africanus, whose native language was Arabic, make between this and the African tongue, renders it improbable that any correspondence which may now be detected between them should be owing to so recent an influence as that of Mahometanism. It is more difficult to judge what may have been the effect of the Phœnician and Punic languages upon the ancient Libyan. A mixed population was certainly formed during the Carthaginian ascendency, and there must have been a Libyphœnician language as well as a Libyphœnician people. This influence, however, will hardly suffice to explain the traces of Syro-Ara-

[1] "The name *Barbar* is derived of the verb *Barbara*, which in their tongue signifieth to murmur; because the African tongue soundeth in the ears of the Arabians no otherwise than the voice of beasts." Leo Afric. p. 6.

[2] Ptol. 4, 7. Steph. Byz. s. voc. Βάρβαρος.

[3] Strabo, 14, p. 662. Herod. 2, 158. *Berber* in Coptic denotes the bubbling of boiling water. Philolog. Mus. 1, 609, where various examples are given.

bian affinity in the western extremity of Mount Atlas, though it might do so in places nearer to the seat of the Carthaginian power. When we examine the remains of the Berber language, we find a certain correspondence between its vocabulary and that of the Arabic; but as an uncivilized nation naturally borrows the names of things from a more civilized neighbour, this correspondence may be in some measure explained from the conquest of the Arabs. There is, however, a very close correspondence also in the sounds and roots of the Berber and the Syro-Arabian, and in their systems of inflexion and syntax[1], and this deep-seated analogy cannot be explained by any recent influence of the Arabic. To which branch of the Syro-Arabian family, the northern or the southern, the Berber bears the closer resemblance, it is not easy to decide; but those who have most carefully investigated the subject are of opinion that its affinities are rather with the Hebrew than the Arabic.

Many movements of nations, affecting the localities of language and population, must have occurred before the existence of historical records. Within the limits of ancient history, however, only one event is known, by which Africa, beyond the influence of Phœnicia and Carthage, can have received a Syro-Arabian population. From the history of Egypt we learn that about 2000 B.C. a great westward migration of Palestinian and Arabian nomad tribes took place, in conse-

[1] F. W. Newman in Proceedings of Philological Society, 1, 137. Prichard, 2, 364. It is remarkable that the numerals differ almost entirely from the Syro-Arabian. Prichard, 2, 40. The native name of Mount Atlas, Addir (Solinus, c. 24), is evidently the Hebrew אדיר, *great*. Is not this the Mons *Ater* of which Pliny speaks (5, 5): "longo spatio in occasum ab ortu tendens," and which he supposes to have been so called as being "adusto similis"?

quence of which all Lower Egypt was subject to them for a long succession of years[1]. Manetho, who alone records this event, was no further concerned with it than as it affected the welfare of his native country, and therefore does not tell us whether the Hyksos pushed their conquests further to the west than Egypt; or whether on their expulsion a part of them did not betake themselves to Africa as well as Palestine. Both are highly probable, and the supposition that the Hyksos proceeded from Lower Egypt to occupy Northern Africa accords well with the book of Genesis. The population of Mauritania having been referred to Phut, the son of Ham (10, v. 12), it is said, "Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim." Now these are evidently denominations of African tribes. The Lehabim are Libyans; the name of Lud may be referred to Laud, a river in Western Africa[2], whence the Leuathai, a Mauritanian tribe mentioned by the Byzantine writers[3]. The Naphtuhim are generally supposed to be the inhabitants of the extremity of the land of Egypt towards Palestine[4]; but the name may be that of the Naphzawah[5], a tribe widely diffused through Northern Africa, from the Great Salt Lake, or Palus Tritonis, near the Gulf of the Lesser Syrtis, to the borders of Mauritania[6]. The Anamim are not definitely known; they were perhaps the numerous and savage tribe of the Garamantes[7]. These nations are said in the book

[1] Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, 2, 180.

[2] Pliny, 5, 1, 17.

[3] Procop. Bell. Vand. 2, 21, p. 502, ed. Bonn, quoted by Movers, 2, 2, 377. Μαυρούσιοι, οἱ Λευάθαι καλούμενοι.

[4] Bochart, Geog. Sac. 4, 29.

[5] Movers, 2, 2, 379. He supposes them to be the Natabudes of Pliny. H. N. 5, 4.

[6] See Barth's Map.

[7] Herod. 4, 174. 183.

of Genesis to be the offspring of Mizraim; but this expression does not necessarily imply that they were of the same race and speech with the genuine Egyptians. If the Hyksos, after occupying Lower Egypt, migrated on their expulsion into Northern Africa, this would be sufficient to explain their being derived from Mizraim, which, though designating Egypt collectively in Scripture, is also used specifically for Lower Egypt[1]. Thus in the context of the same passage, the Philistines are derived from Mizraim, although they certainly spoke a Syro-Arabian language, and probably were a portion of the Hyksos[2]. The introduction of the horse into Northern Africa, from Arabia its native country, may be attributed to the Hyksos; it is never found on Egyptian monuments of the times of the Old monarchy[3].

These primæval relations between Asia and Northern Africa, dimly revealed by the discoveries of modern ethnology, were unknown to the ancients. We can hardly reckon among traditions the accounts of Asiatic nations employed as auxiliaries by Hercules[4]: had they any historical significance, the mention of Hercules would refer them to Phœnician colonization. Nor can greater historical value be attributed to the so-called traditions of the Berbers, who deduce their descent from the Canaanites, the Amalekites, the Philistines, or the Casluhim[5]. They betray themselves by the mention of these specific names, as

[1] Mizraim is said (Gen. 10, 14) to beget Pathrusim, the Thebais.

[2] See p. 54.

[3] Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, vol. 1, p. 195. The evidence of osteology has been applied to establish the relation of the Berbers to other races; but the specimens hitherto examined have been so few that no inference can be drawn from them. Prichard, 2, 363.

[4] See p. 122.

[5] They are very fully collected by Movers, 2, 2, 412 foll., who attributes to them a value which, as it seems to me, they are far from deserving.

hypotheses framed upon the Mosaic history, which is received by Mahometans as by Christians, by Berbers as by Moors. The existence of a Canaanitic element in the populations of Northern Africa was palpable; the very name remained till the Mahometan conquest; and being much better versed in Biblical than in profane history, they would adopt the hypothesis of a direct origin from Canaan as the readiest way of accounting for a connexion which was really owing to Phœnician and Carthaginian colonization. We must therefore leave the question of the Asiatic origin of the Libyans to rest upon the evidence of language and its intrinsic probability, and proceed to the historical accounts of the establishment of maritime colonies on the coast of the Mediterranean.

According to Strabo[1], the Phœnicians occupied the middle part of Africa, soon after the War of Troy; but it is probable that it was known to them at a much earlier period, since the country on the Lesser Syrtis was visited by Menelaus and Ulysses in their wanderings[2]. It was the scene of a part of the adventures of the Argonauts[3], which, as we have already observed, coincide in their localities with the voyages of the Phœnicians. The worship of Neptune and Minerva near the Lake Tritonis[4] was probably of Phœnician origin; the Phœnicians introduced the worship of Minerva into Bœotia, and had a priesthood of Neptune in the port of Athens[5]. Their earliest settlement whose date is recorded is that of Ituke, by the Latins called Utica, on the river Bagradas, near the Promontory of Apollo, the western

[1] 3, p. 48. [2] See p. 51. Od. ι, 84 [3] Pind. Pyth. 4, 36.
[4] Herod. 2, 50; 4, 180. [5] Gesen. Mon. Pun. 112.

horn of the same deep bay on which Carthage stood. It was founded, according to a testimony derived from the Phœnician records themselves[1], 287 years before Carthage. The date of the foundation of Carthage is somewhat doubtful, but is probably to be placed in 813 B.C.[2] As Utica preceded Carthage in the date of its foundation, so it survived its fall, and became the metropolis of this region of Africa[3]. The site of the Phœnician town was on an island close to the shore, to which it had been joined by subsequent deposits of the Bagradas[4]. When Pliny wrote his Natural History, in the year 77 or 78 A.D., the cedar beams of the temple of Apollo, coæval with the foundation of Utica, had endured 1078 years without change[5]. The dates of the foundation of Hippo, a little further to the westward, of Hadrumetum, Leptis, Tysdrus on the western coast of the Syrtis, are not distinctly recorded, but they all probably preceded the colonization of Carthage[6].

The variety of dates assigned to the foundation of this, the most illustrious of all the Phœnician colonies, has been explained by supposing that before its colonization by Tyre under Dido, from which its prosperity and power began, it had been occupied by a colony from Sidon. This opinion rests on a passage of the Sicilian Philistus, preserved by Eusebius, and

[1] See p. 125, note [8].

[2] See Movers, 2, 2, 150, who has examined this question at great length; and Beck, Anleitung, 1, 1, 778.

[3] Strabo, 17, 832.

[4] "Bagrada, non ullo Libycis in finibus amne
Victus limosas extendere latius undas,
Et stagnante vado patulos involvere campos."
Sil. It. 6, 140. Barth, Wanderungen, 110.

[5] 16, 40 (79).

[6] "Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratia, pars imperii cupidine solicitata plebe, et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Adrumetum, Leptin aliasque urbes in ora maritima condidere." Sall. Jug. c. 19.

probably referred to, though without naming him, by Appian[1], in which it is said that Carthage was founded by the Tyrians Zorus and Carchedon fifty (Eus. 31) years before the Trojan war. As Tyre appears to have been still in subordination to Sidon at the time of the Trojan war, it is concluded that Sidon must have been the real foundress. Appian himself, however, declares that both the Romans and Carthaginians held that the city was founded by Dido of Tyre, and when he speaks of the duration of Carthage, computes it from the later, not the earlier date[2]. The mention of Zorus (whose name is the Phœnician *Tsor*, Tyre), as a person, along with Carchedon, the Greek for Carthage, is a sufficient proof that we have here no statement derived, like the date of the foundation of Utica, from Phœnician archives, but a fiction of the Greeks. When they brought Æneas to Italy[3], they made him visit Africa and Sicily, to explain the worship of Venus in those countries; Carthage was a principal seat of her worship[4], and therefore it was necessary to refer its foundation to a date antecedent to the Trojan war. The Latin writers assume that Carthage, before the time of Dido, consisted only of Numidian huts[5].

[1] Appian. de Reb. Pun. (8) 1. Hieron. Comm. in Jerem. 25, 22. "Tyrus et Sidon, *quarum* Carthago colonia." He probably uses "Tyre and Sidon" for Phœnicia generally, not meaning to indicate two successive colonizations.

"Urbs antiqua fuit; *Tyrii* tenuere coloni."—Virg. Æn. 1, 12.

[2] Appian, u.s. c. 2, with Schweighæuser's note; Heyne, Exc. 1 ad Æn. 4. On a coin of Sidon this city has been supposed to claim the foundation of Carthage, but the reading of the inscription is doubtful. Comp. Gesen. 265. Movers, 2, 2, 134.

[3] This was done, according to Niebuhr (Hist. of Rome, 1, 153, Eng. Trans.), as early as the time of Stesichorus, 600 B.C.

[4] The Carthaginian Venus was the Phœnician Astarte. See Münter, Religion der Karthager, c. vi.

[5] "Miratur molem Æneas, *magalia quondam*."—Virg. Æn. 1, 421.

If indeed by the "foundation of Carthage" be meant only the first time when the Phœnicians took possession of the promontory on which the mistress of the western seas afterwards grew up, this may well have happened before the Trojan war. The point of land still called Capo Cartagine, which projects from the eastern side of the Gulf of Tunis, near the entrance of the Goletta, was in ancient times more nearly a peninsula than it is now[1]; and corresponds exactly with the description given by Thucydides of the sites selected for the purposes of commerce by the Phœnicians[2]. Its height, which is still nearly 500 feet above the sea, afforded a good look-out; and as a shelter for ships, the qualities of the bay are familiar from the description of Virgil,—

"Insula portum
Efficit objectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
Frangitur, inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos."—Æn. 1, 160.

"...... hic fessas non vincula naves
Ulla tenent; unco non adligat anchora morsu[3]."

It was in this way that all the principal colonies of Phœnicia arose, and in this sense Carthage may have owed its origin to the times when Sidon was predominant among the Phœnician cities. But its rapid rise to power was due to a colony from Tyre about the end of the ninth century B.C. The circumstances which led to the migration of Dido belong to the special history of that city. The colony first established itself on the hill called by the Greeks Byrsa,

[1] Barth, Wanderungen, 83.
[2] Thuc. 6, 2. Ἄκρας ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἀπολαβόντες ἐμπορίας ἕνεκεν.
[3] Comp. Sir Grenville Temple's Excursions, 2, 37. Servius (ad Æn. 1, 165) says the topography is imaginary; and certainly the island Ægimurus lies too far off to serve as a breakwater to the harbour; but the description is substantially correct. See Heyne, Exc. ad loc.

still recognised in the elevated ground which bears the name of St. Louis. It is now only about 190 feet above the level of the sea; but its height above the neighbouring ground, on which its strength depended, has no doubt been diminished by the accumulation of ruins around its base[1]. The name, which, from its resemblance to the Greek word for *hide*, gave rise to the story of Dido's purchase of as much land as a hide would cover, is Phœnician, and denotes a fortress[2]. Like the Cadmea at Thebes, which it resembled in name[3], it was the place of arms of the original settlers, the *magalia* of the civil population being gathered around the base, and gradually forming the *New City*, the signification of the name *Carthage*[4], by which both parts collectively are known[5], as Neapolis (Naples) has absorbed its older neighbour, Palæpolis. The work of excavating for themselves a dock, in which Virgil represents them as engaged at the arrival of Æneas, would soon follow their settlement; for, though they came with arms in their hands, they came rather as merchants than as warriors, and their first accessions of population were from the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who flocked to them for the purpose of trade[6]. It was probably in the same place, on the southern side of the peninsula, where we now see the

[1] Barth, Wanderungen, p. 94.

[2] בצרה (Is 63, 1. Jer. 49, 13), softened by the Greeks into Βύρσα.

[3] Eust. ad Dion. Perieg. 195. Ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ Καδμεία καὶ Κακκάβη, ὅπερ τῇ ἐγχωρίων διαλέκτῳ ἵππου δηλοῖ κεφάλην. This is an additional proof that the name Cadmea had no reference to a person. See p. 99, note [1].

[4] So at Panormus the original fortress was called מחנת, "camp;" the new town (νέα πόλις, Polyb. 1, 38), קרת חדשת. See Gesen. 288. 291.

[5] Appian, 8, 2. Diod. 20, 44, with Wesseling's note.

[6] "Confluentibus vicinis locorum, qui spe lucri multa hospitibus venalia inferebant, sedesque ibi statuentibus, ex frequentia hominum velut instar civitatis effectum est." Justin, 18, 5.

remains of two basins, designed to hold the war-navy of Carthage, in the day of its power. They have become a salt-marsh; but under the Byzantine emperors, and after the Mahometan conquest, they retained their ancient use[1]. The early history of the colony is almost entirely unknown. Virgil represents it as threatened by the hostility of a native prince, Iarbas, and, according to a late tradition[2], it was actually destroyed by him; but this is contrary to the best authorities[3]. Everything relating to him, his descent from Jupiter Hammon, his establishment of the worship of that deity in a hundred temples in North Africa[4], and the extent of his dominion, is of so mythical a character, that we cannot venture to consider him as an historical personage[5]. Yet the tradition is so far historical, that it represents the feeling of hostility with which the native tribes regarded Carthage. At first, imitating the policy of Phœnicia, she made only commercial settlements, and extended these to the Pillars of Hercules, to pay them tribute for the land which she occupied; but, as she felt her own strength, she began to make conquests. The name of Iarbas may be considered in this connexion as representing the nations of the interior[6]; their hostility would naturally be directed against a power whose rapid extension threatened their independence. This hostility, however, can have had little

[1] See the quotations in Barth, Wanderungen, p. 92, note 33.

[2] Eust. ad Dion. Perieg. u. s.

[3] The *ἐξωθούμενοι* of Appian (8, 1), the *ἐκβάλλοντος* of Eustathius (195, 32), the *pelleretur* of Servius (ad Æn. 1, 371), all denote by their tense an attempt not carried into execution.

[4] Virg. Æn. 4, 197.

[5] Ovid (Fast. 3, 551) avails himself of the capture of Carthage by Iarbas, to connect the Phœnician Anna with the Anna Perenna of the old Italian religion.

[6] *Νομάδων καὶ Μαζίκων βασιλέως Ἰάρβαντος.* Eust. u. s.

effect in retarding the growth of the Carthaginians, since we find them in conflict with the Phocæans, about the year 600, and endeavouring, though unsuccessfully[1], to prevent their establishing themselves at Massylia. The jealousy which led to this conflict can only have arisen from the dread of rivalry in the western part of the Mediterranean, and implies that Carthage herself already aspired to naval empire there. She appears to have become the head of a federation in which Utica and the other Phœnician colonies were included. A large mixed population was formed along the coast of the Lesser Syrtis, Emporia, Byzacium, the Carthaginian territory, and the western coast beyond it, as far as Mauritania, from the intermarriage of Carthaginians and Phœnicians with native Libyans[2]. These Libyphœnicians became so numerous, that their name is often used for the people of Carthaginian dominion generally, including the inhabitants of the Phœnician colonies and even Carthage itself; though the people of Phœnician descent prided themselves upon their purity of blood, and avoided mixing it with that of the natives. Carthage also from time to time sent out colonies of her poorer citizens, to occupy the lands of the Libyans[3], and these again became centres of a Libyphœnician population. The Libyphœnicians, being chiefly devoted to agriculture, lived collectively in large villages, which the historians call towns, and which were so numerous,

[1] Thucyd. 1, 13, ad fin. Fynes Clinton, F. H. sub anno 600.

[2] Strabo extends the land of the Libyphœnicians (17, 835) as far eastward as Cephalæ, the western boundary of the Syrtis Major, and westward as the Massaisyli, who bordered on Mauritania.

[3] Καρχηδόνιοι ἀεί τινας ἐκπέμποντες τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὰς περιοικίδας, ποιοῦσιν εὐπόρους. Ar. Pol. 8, 3, 5.

that we read of 200 being captured by an invading army, in an expedition along the coast of the Emporia and Byzacium[1]. Beyond these were the nomadic tribes, whose predatory habits were so destructive to the inhabitants of the cultivated districts near the coast, that a trench was dug to keep off their inroads[2]. Under the name of Numidians they appear as an important element in the Carthaginian armies in later times, acting as a Cossack cavalry. The name, originally descriptive only of the habits of the people, and applied indiscriminately to all the nomadic tribes, became afterwards the national designation of a powerful kingdom, extending nearly 1000 miles from the Carthaginian frontier in the east, along the coast and interior, to the river Moluchath, the boundary of Mauritania.

The relations of Carthage with the other towns and tribes of Africa changed as soon as her growing power enabled her to assume the character of mistress. The payment of tribute for the ground on which the city stood was continued from the respect due to an ancient custom which had ceased to be burthensome, till a late period[3]; but a virtual sovereignty was exercised by Carthage. With the single exception of Utica, whose antiquity of foundation was respected, and which appears as an independent power in the treaties with the Romans[4], all the other Phœnician colonies became her tributaries. Her exactions grew more severe, as the demands of the state for the

[1] Diod. 20, 17.

[2] Eumachus quoted by Phlegon, Mir. 18. He wrote a History of Hannibal.

[3] Justin, 19, 2, who refers its abolition to the time of the wars in Sicily. An unsuccessful attempt to get rid of it had been made a little earlier. Ib. 1.

[4] Polyb. 3, 24.

expenses of foreign warfare increased, and the discontent thus produced undermined the foundations of the Carthaginian power, and assured a ready welcome to any foreign force which could defeat or elude their navy, and effect a landing in Africa.

We have much cause to regret the diffidence or vanity which made Sallust decline to speak of Carthage, because he had not space to do justice to such a theme[1]. In the wreck which has taken place of ancient literature, even a few lines from his pen would have given us information which we now seek in vain. Its history naturally divides itself into three periods; from its foundation to the year 480 B.C., when its wars in Sicily began; from the year 480 to 265, when its wars with Rome began; and finally, from 265 to 146, when it was destroyed. We are entirely destitute of any continuous history for the first of these periods. The primary cause of its rapid increase is no doubt to be found in the fertility of the soil, and the fortunate selection of its site, midway between the seats of art and civilization in Asia and the rich countries in the south-west of Europe,—within an easy distance also of the coasts of Southern Italy and the islands of Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Baleares. The richest portion of the traffic with these western regions, that with the south of Spain, was kept to itself by Phœnicia, during the time of its ascendency; but as a compensation for its exclusion from the mines of Tartessus, Carthage enjoyed ready access to the interior of Africa, by the caravans, in which the nomadic tribes conveyed the salt and the dates with

[1] Bell. Jug. 19. "De Carthagine silere melius puto quam parum licere."

which the north of Africa abounds, across the Sahara to the countries on the Niger, and brought back thence gold-dust, precious stones, and slaves[1]. They had traffic with the natives of Ethiopia by a different channel. They had visited and colonized the western coast of Africa, as low down as Arguin[2], and dealt with the natives by dumb barter, receiving gold-dust from them in exchange for their own wares[3].

As the Carthaginian fleet was defeated in 600 B.C. by the force of a single Greek city, Phocæa, its naval power was at that time not very great. Sixty years later they came again into conflict off Corsica[4] with less advantage to the Phocæans, now expelled from their home by Harpagus, the general of Cyrus. A great change had taken place in Asiatic history. Soon after the first conflict of these powers, Tyre underwent a siege by Nebuchadnezzar, in which, whether captured or not, it suffered so severely that it was never able to regain its former ascendency; and from this time we may date the entire independence of Carthage, and its succession to that dominion in the West which had hitherto belonged to Tyre. This increase of power is connected with the name of Hanno; not the same who commanded the expedition to the western coast of Africa, but of a generation earlier, and living about the middle of the sixth century B.C. According

[1] Heeren, Ideen, Carthager, sect. 6.

[2] Under the command of Hanno a fleet of 60 penteconters, with 30,000 Libyphœnicians, was sent to plant colonies on the western coast of Africa. The most southern of the colonies was at Cerne (Arguin); but the voyage of discovery was carried as far as N. L. 10°. The time of Hanno's expedition was about 510 B.C. See Kluge, Hannonis Navigatio.

[3] Herod. 4, 196.

[4] Sixty ships of the Phocæans encountered sixty Carthaginian and sixty Etruscan vessels, and gained what Herodotus calls "a Cadmean victory" (1, 166), in which the victor suffers most.

to Dio Chrysostom[1], "he made the Carthaginians to be Libyans instead of Tyrians, and to inhabit Libya instead of Phœnicia, and to acquire much wealth, and many emporia and harbours and triremes, and an extensive dominion both by land and sea." These words plainly imply, that in the time, and by means of the measures of Hanno, Carthage, from being a dependency of Tyre, became a substantive state, having its seat in Africa; and that a great extension of its wealth and its power, both by sea and land, took place at the same time and under the same auspices. In an historian, we should have inferred from the phrase "that he had caused the Carthaginians to inhabit Libya instead of Phœnicia," that he had been the leader of a large emigration from Tyre, to which this increase was owing; in a rhetorician it appears to mean nothing more than the preceding clause, namely that before his time Carthage had been virtually a portion of Phœnicia, but henceforth was an independent African power. That such was the effect of the decline of Tyre after the siege by Nebuchadnezzar is certain; and even if no large part of its population migrated at once, during the siege and after it, the decay of its prosperity and the loss of its independence would naturally attract them towards Carthage, which was already powerful and able to protect itself. Such an increase, coupled with the decline of the Tyrian power throughout the western Mediterranean, would account for the sudden start which Carthage appears to have made in the sixth century B.C. The military talents of Mago, who lived between the middle and end of this century, con-

[1] Orat. 1, 522, ed. Reisk.

tributed to the same result. He organized their military forces, and prepared the way for the extensive wars which the Carthaginians carried on in Sicily[1].

Cambyses, after the conquest of Egypt, wished to have attacked Carthage; the submission of Cyrene and Barca having brought his frontier into contact with theirs; but the Phœnicians, who must have furnished the fleet for this purpose, refused to engage in hostilities against their own colony. Darius solicited the aid of Carthage in his projected invasion of the Greeks, but without success. When Xerxes renewed his father's undertaking, he entered into a treaty with the Carthaginians, in virtue of which, in the same year in which he crossed the Hellespont, they poured a large army into Sicily, gathered from Gaul, Liguria and Spain, as well as all their African territories[2]. The battle of Himera was as fatal to the plans of Carthage, as Salamis and Platæa to those of Xerxes[3]; but Sicily continued for a long time to be the scene of struggles between Carthaginians and Greeks, till both were absorbed in the growing empire of Rome. This and the other islands which lie between Africa and Europe, along with the southern coast of Spain, have been an object of competition between the two continents. The temporary dominion which Carthage exercised over them was renewed by the Saracens,

[1] "Mago primus omnium ordinata disciplina militari, imperium Pœnorum condidit viresque civitatis non minus bellandi arte quam virtute firmavit." Justin, 19, 1. His sons Hasdrubal and Hamilcar commanded in Sicily, where the latter committed suicide after the battle of Himera, B.C. 480.

[2] Diod. 11, 1, who reckons the armies at 300,000 men, the fleet at 2000 sail. Comp. 11, 20. Herodotus does not mention the treaty. See Dahlmann, Herodot aus seinem Buche sein Leben, 185.

[3] The Greeks believed that the battle of Himera, in which Gelon and Theron defeated Hamilcar, was fought on the same day as that of Thermopylæ (Diod. 11, 24) or Salamis (Her. 7, 166).

who did not quit their hold of Spain till the end of the fifteenth century[1]. After long enduring the evils inflicted upon her by the barbarism of Northern Africa, Europe has resumed the aggressive, and it seems probable that at no distant period all the ancient dominions of Carthage there may be colonized by Europeans.

[1] The capitulation of Granada was signed Nov. 25, 1491.

CHAPTER V.

ALPHABET, LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

THE ancient authorities are nearly unanimous in assigning to the Phœnicians the invention or early possession of an ALPHABET, and its communication to the Greeks. Lucan says its use among them was older than that of the papyrus in Egypt :—

> "Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
> Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.
> Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
> Noverat, et saxis tantum volucresque feræque
> Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas."
> Phars 3, 220

The statement of Pliny[1], that letters had always been in use among the Assyrians, refers probably to the cuneiform writing, the high antiquity of which is shown by recent discoveries: but when he says that some attributed the invention to the Syrians, he had in view the alphabet which the Phœnicians introduced into Greece. The Greeks acknowledged themselves indebted for it to the Phœnicians. "The Phœnicians," says Herodotus[2], "who came with Cadmus, introduced among the Greeks instruction of various kinds, and especially letters, which they did not previously possess;" and a host of subsequent writers confirm this statement—Diodorus, Tacitus, Mela,

[1] H. N. 7, 57.

[2] Her. 5, 57, 58 Diod. 5, 24. Dictys Cretensis (1, 16) says that in the ballot for the chieftainship, in the war against Troy, Punic (i. e. Cadmean) letters were used.

Josephus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius. The names of the letters in the Greek alphabet are obviously the same with those of the Hebrew, adapted to the pronunciation of a people who could not dispense with vowels. But as it could not be supposed that the Greeks had received their alphabet immediately from the Jews, it was naturally presumed that the Hebrew and Phœnician character was the same.

The ordinary or square Hebrew letters, however, those which the MSS. and printed books exhibit, were known to be of much later origin than the time when the Phœnicians communicated their alphabet to the Greeks, and bear little resemblance to the archaic forms of the Greek letters. In the sixteenth century, when the attention of scholars began to be directed to this subject, it was the general opinion that they had not been invented by Ezra, as the Talmudists maintained, but were of Chaldee origin, and adopted by the Jewish nation on their return from the Babylonish Captivity[1]. It was known at the same time that the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch was written in a different character from the square Hebrew; and to this, which was presumed to be the alphabet in use before the Captivity, Scaliger had recourse to illustrate the connexion between the Phœnician and the archaic Greek letters[2]. No remains of real Phœ-

[1] The alphabet of the Palmyrene inscriptions nearly resembles the square Hebrew, and was supposed to have given origin to it. Recent discoveries in Babylon, however (see Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 346. 525), lead to the conclusion that it was really in use in Chaldæa. It may have been employed by the Jews in common transactions, at the time that the inscriptions on the coins exhibit the older character, as the Ionian alphabet was used by the Athenians before it was authoritatively adopted in the archonship of Euclides (403 B.C.). A passage in Irenæus, to be quoted hereafter, indicates the existence of an alphabet, known as the sacerdotal, older than that in common use.

[2] Anim. in Chron. Euseb. p. 110.

nician palæography, in monuments or coins, were then known, but the assumption of the Samaritan as identical with the Phœnician seemed to be justified by the identity of the Hebrew and Phœnician languages, which is attested by the Fathers, and confirmed by the comparison of Hebrew words with Phœnician and Punic. More exact researches, and the multiplication of Phœnician monuments, have shown that the Samaritan alphabet is not absolutely identical with the Phœnician; but even as exhibited by Scaliger, the resemblance to the Greek on the one hand, and to the Phœnician on the other is indisputable. And this affinity is still more evident when we use for comparison, instead of the Samaritan of the MSS., the old Hebrew alphabet, as seen on the coins of the Maccabæan princes[1].

It was not till the middle of the eighteenth century, that Phœnician palæography had its origin. Richard Pococke had brought back, from his travels in the East, a collection of inscriptions from Citium in Cyprus, which was known to be a settlement of the Phœnicians, and deposited them at Oxford. Swinton, the keeper of the University archives, published in 1750 his *Inscriptiones Citieæ*, in which, besides reading and translating two of the inscriptions, he treated of the Samaritan and Phœnician coins. The Abbé Barthélemy followed in the same field a few years later; and Mr. Swinton to the end of his life continued to communicate papers to the Transactions of the Royal Society on the subject of Phœnician palæography. To these two writers it owes the first establishment of

[1] See Plates I. II. at the end of the volume.

its principles. Swinton was more successful in deciphering, Barthélemy in translating; together they laid a sure foundation for the subsequent labours of Bayer, Dutens, Hamaker, and Gesenius. The number of the monuments and coins, by the comparison of which the alphabet has been fixed, has greatly increased since the beginning of the present century; and some of them, being bilingual, have afforded a safe standard for comparison. No inscribed stone has yet been found within the limits of Phœnicia itself, nor any coin of its cities during the time of their independence; but Cyprus and Cilicia, Athens and the Mediterranean islands, especially Sicily and Malta, have furnished a large number, probably originating from their occupation by the Phœnicians; while the south of Spain and the north of Africa have supplied both inscriptions and coins belonging to the Punic branch, the number of which has been greatly increased by the French conquest of Algeria, and the researches made on the site of ancient Carthage. The latest and most remarkable addition to this class is the tablet of Marseilles, which contains a tariff of the prices to be paid for various animals offered in sacrifice to Baal, set up by the authority of the Suffetes of Carthage in his temple at Marseilles[1]. The Carthaginians had here a factory or commercial settlement, and carried on the worship of their tutelary gods, as the Phœnicians did at Athens, Memphis and elsewhere.

The Phœnician alphabet, as established from these sources, none of which, however, is older than the

[1] See note at the end of this chapter, in which I have also given a translation and explanation of the Punic scene in Plautus.

fourth century B.C.[1], consisted of twenty-two letters, the same number as the Hebrew. But probably it was originally more scanty, and underwent gradual improvements which were adopted by the nations who had borrowed the original alphabet. The primitive Greek alphabet is attested by many authorities to have consisted of only sixteen letters, which have been thus enumerated: *α, β, γ, δ, ε, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ,* and *υ,* and these are called Phœnician letters[2]. We have no Phœnician monuments of such high antiquity as to exhibit this alphabet, but it is a legitimate conclusion, that as the Greeks borrowed only sixteen letters from the Phœnicians, their alphabet once consisted of no more. There is a remarkable passage in Irenæus[3], in which, contending against some quibbles of the Gnostics derived from the numerical value of the letters in the name of Jesus, he says, "The old and first letters of the Hebrews, which are also called sacerdotal, are in number" (as numerals) "ten; but

[1] This is the age assigned by Movers (Phonizische Texte, 2, 26) to the tablet of Marseilles

[2] *Χρὴ εἴδεναι ὅτι πρότερον Ἕλληνες Φοινικικοῖς ἐχρῶντο γράμμασιν· ὕστερον δὲ ἐλθὼν ὁ Παλαμηδης δεκα ἓξ μόνα στοιχεῖα εὗρε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. α, β, γ, δ, ε, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ καὶ υ* Anon. ap. Walz ad Aisen. Viol p. 463, quoted by Franz, Epigraphik, p. 12. "Repertores literarum Cadmus ex Phœnice in Græciam et Evander ad nos transtulerunt literas numero sedecim." Gramm. ap. Putsch. 2458. Plin 7, 56. "Volunt in Græciam intulisse e Phœnice Cadmum sedecim numero." Tac Ann 11, 14. Plut. Quæst. Plat § 10, 1 Οἱ *παλαιοὶ διὰ τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα φράζοντες ἀποχρώντως καὶ γράφοντες.*

[3] Adv. Hær. 2, 41. "Ipsæ enim antiquæ et primæ Hebræorum literæ, et sacerdotales nuncupatæ, decem sunt quidem numero, scribuntur autem quæque per quindecim, novissima litera copulata primæ. Et ideo quidem quædam scribunt secundum subsequentiam, sicuti et nos; quædam autem a dextra parte in sinistram, retorquentes literas." See Hug, Erf. der Buchst Schrift. Bayer (Del Alfabeto e della Lingua de los Fenices, appended to the translation of the Jugurthine War by the Infante Don Gabriel) understands Irenæus to mean that the sounds of the language were ten in number, but expressed by fifteen characters. Irenæus was mistaken in saying that the Hebrew was sometimes written from left to right, at least no traces remain of *boustrophedon* writing.

everything is expressed in writing by means of fifteen, the last letters" (of one line) "being joined to the first" (of the succeeding), "and therefore they write some things in the same sequence as we do; others from right to left, turning the letters the contrary way." We know nothing of the history of the Hebrew alphabet till after the Captivity, but there can be little doubt that it was enlarged and improved by gradual changes like that of other nations. There seems to have been a time when the Hebrew alphabet had not a Vau in the sixth place, but its sound, that of the Greek Digamma, *F*, was supplied by a labial, placed as an appendage after Tau. In the other acrostic Psalms (cxi. cxii. cxix. cxlv.) the twenty-two letters succeed each other in the order of the alphabet, but in the twenty-fifth and thirty-fourth there is no verse beginning with *vau*, and instead of it a verse follows *tau* beginning with *pe*. This can scarcely have been the effect of accident. The author must have designed to give an archaic character to his composition, by adopting a form of the alphabet which was known anciently to have existed. That it was not the alphabet of his own time is evident, because *vau* repeatedly occurs in the words of the same psalm. If then we exclude from the later Phœnician alphabet all the letters which have no representative in the earliest Greek, viz. *zain*, *cheth*, *teth*, *samech*, *tzade*, *qoph*, and also *vau*, the number of twenty-two will be reduced to fifteen, which according to Irenæus was the ancient alphabet of the Hebrews. It had been already augmented, by a sixteenth, *vau*, in the simplest state in which the Greeks had any tradition of its existence among their ancestors. This letter variously

represents *f* or *u*, letters belonging to the same organ; it was first placed at the end of the alphabet, where it remained as υ ψιλόν, the unaspirated *u*, while the aspirated form (F) was adopted in those dialects of the Greek in which this sound was prevalent, as the Æolic, and thence in the Latin, but not in Greek generally. It was used, however, like the Phœnician *tzade* (900) and *qoph* (90) by the Greeks, as an *episemon* or numeral sign, standing for six[1].

Of the origin of this alphabet, the immemorial possession of the Semitic race, no opinion can be offered. If we are to seek for it in any extraneous source, we should naturally look to Egypt, in which, as early as the building of the pyramids, visible form had been used as the representative of vocal sound[2]. The phonetic use of hieroglyphics would naturally suggest to a practical people, such as the Phœnicians were, a simplification of the cumbrous system of the Egyptians, by dispensing altogether with the pictorial and symbolical use, and assigning one character to each sound, instead of the multitude of homophones which made the reading of the hieroglyphics so difficult; the residence of the "Phœnician shepherds," the Hyksos, in Egypt might afford an opportunity for this adaptation[3], or it might be brought about by commercial intercourse. We cannot, however, trace such a resemblance between the earliest Phœnician alphabet

[1] No trace has been found, even in the latest Phœnician monuments, of vowel points, and when they wrote Greek names, they omitted many of the vowels. Thus Ερηνη Βυζαντια became in their writing Erna Bznti. See Note on this chapter, p. 171.

[2] "Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant et literarum semet inventores perhibent; inde Phœnicas, quia mari præpollebant intulisse Græciæ, gloriamque adeptos tanquam repererint quæ acceperant." Tac. Ann. 11, 14.

[3] See Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, 2, p. 323.

known to us, and the phonetic characters of Egypt, as to give any certainty to this conclusion. The circumstance that the names of the letters in the Phœnician alphabet signify some natural object—*aleph*, an ox; *beth*, a house; *daleth*, a door; *gimel*, a camel, &c.—has led to the supposition that the figure of the object was assumed as the representative of the sound of the initial letter of the word by which it was denoted. Some few of the letters bear a slight resemblance to the objects whose names begin with the letter for which they stand[1], but this explanation cannot be carried through the alphabet without considerable exercise of the imagination. The letters which nearly resemble one another in sound, as He and Cheth, Zain and Tzade, Caph and Qoph, have been discriminated by slight additions or variations, whereas the objects which answer to them are widely different[2].

Babylonian bricks have long been known, inscribed in Phœnician characters, "House of the supreme God," indicating the residence of Phœnicians in that city, and probably their possession of a temple for their special worship[3]. The recent discoveries at Nineveh have brought to light inscriptions in the Phœnician character, along with others in the cuneiform, proving an intercourse between Phœnicia and Assyria in the flourishing times of the empire of Nineveh, but nothing leading to the conclusion that the cuneiform character was the parent of the Phœnician. In Egypt also, inscriptions have been found in the Phœnician character, but in an Aramæan dialect—probably proceeding from Jews or Syrians who had settled there[4],

[1] See the work of Hug, before quoted.

[2] Movers, Phön Texte, 2, 14.

[3] Movers, Phön. Texte, 1, 59.

[4] Gesenius, Mon. Phœn. 2, lib. c. 9, pl. lxxvii. *a a* and *a a a*, 2, 8.

and had partially adopted the religious ideas of the Egyptians. They seem to be of the age of the latest Ptolemies.

The purest examples of the Phœnician alphabet are found in the inscriptions of Malta, Athens, Cyprus and Sardinia, and the coins of Phœnicia, Sicily and the adjacent islands. In Cyprus, a special alphabet also formed itself, composed of Phœnician, Egyptian and Lycian characters, corresponding with the mixed population of the island[1]. It is probable that this composite alphabet represents also a composite language, but the inscriptions have not hitherto found an interpreter. The coins of Cilicia have some peculiar characters, but generally agree with the Phœnician. The inscriptions and coins of Africa, and the coins of Spain, are less carefully executed[2]. The great inscription of Marseilles, however, is very regular and distinct, though of Carthaginian origin. The Numidian character is essentially the same with the Phœnician[3], but of a degenerate kind, and several of the letters are with difficulty distinguished from each other. A peculiar character, which has been called Punico-Libyan, is found on a monument at Tucca, near the river Bagradas. It is accompanied with an inscription in the Phœnician character, presumed to be a translation, and by means of this Gesenius has constructed an alphabet wholly different from the

[1] Luynes, Num. et Inscr. Cypriotes, p. 39, 42.

[2] Gesen. 1, 2. § 7.

[3] The commander of Masinissa's fleet had carried off from the temple of Juno at Malta two elephants' tusks of extraordinary size. The king, discovering whence they had been taken, sent them back in a quinquereme, and placed an inscription upon them, declaring that they had been taken in ignorance, and gladly restored. This inscription, according to Valerius Maximus, 1, 1, p. 30, was "*gentis suæ literis*;" according to Cicero, Verr. 4, 46, "*literis Punicis scriptum.*"

Phœnician, and bearing marks of entire originality, being chiefly made up of lines and dots, and having little analogy with any other known system of writing. Since the publication of Gesenius' work, other inscriptions in the same character have been found in northern Africa, and it has been thought that both the language and the alphabet bear analogy to the Berber[1].

The close affinity between the PHŒNICIAN LANGUAGE and the Hebrew was known to scholars from the testimony of the Fathers and the Grammarians, before the discovery and interpretation of the Phœnician monuments. St. Jerome was well acquainted with Hebrew and the Palestinian dialects. St. Augustine, a native of northern Africa, and bishop of Hippo, was sufficiently versed in the Punic, which still continued to be the idiom of the rustics, to know its affinity with the Hebrew, though he was himself slenderly acquainted with the original language of the Old Testament[2]. St. Jerome says, "Lingua Pœnorum linguæ Hebrææ magna ex parte confinis est[3];" and in commenting on the prophecy in Isaiah, 7, 14, he remarks, "Lingua Punica, quæ de Hebræorum fontibus dicitur manare, proprie virgo Alma (עלמה) appellatur." St. Augustine says, "Unctus Græce Christus est, Hebraice Messias, unde et Punice *Messe* dicitur unge (משח)." He alleges it as a curious confirmation of the doctrine of the Trinity, that in the Punic *salus* (salvation) signified three (שלוש)[4]. Priscian says, "Lingua Pœnorum, quæ Chaldææ vel Hebrææ similis est et

[1] See Judas, Étude démonstrative, p. 205, 224, pl. 30–32.
[2] Bochart, Geogr. Sac. P. 2, 2, 16.
[3] Comm. in Jer. 25, 21.
[4] Tract. 15 in Evang. Ioann.

Syræ, non habet genus neutrum[1]." Numerous words, preserved as Phœnician or Punic by the Greek and Latin writers, correspond exactly with the Hebrew, Baal, Adoni, Malka, Suffetes, Gadir, Susa (*lily*), Alpha, Tur (*ox*, Chald. Dan. 4, 22), &c.; and the only satisfactory results in interpreting the Phœnician monuments and coins have been obtained by making the Hebrew the key to their explanation. Out of ninety-four words, in the recently discovered tablet of Marseilles, seventy-four occur in the Old Testament, and many of these are peculiar to the Hebrew, and are not found in the cognate languages. This must not be understood as if the Phœnician were strictly identical with the Bible Hebrew; there are differences of orthography, inflexion and meaning; but it is true, as a general rule, that among the various Semitic dialects, none are so closely allied as the Hebrew and the Phœnician, and that where the Hebrew deviates from its kindred languages, it is generally followed by the Phœnician[2]. The two languages even appear to have undergone corresponding changes; for where the usage of the later writers of the Old Testament departs from that of the earlier, the Phœnician (whose monuments are all subsequent to the Captivity) will be found generally to accord with the later[3].

[1] Comm. Gramm. B. 5, c. 2.

[2] Movers, Phön. Texte, 2, 16. Origen (c. Cels. lib. 3, p. 115, ed. Cant.) says the Hebrew language is different both from the Syrian and the Phœnician; but he is arguing against an adversary who maintained that the Jews were in fact mutinous Egyptians. In answer to him, he asks, if they spoke Egyptian when they emigrated, why did they not adopt either Syrian or Phœnician, instead of forming a new language, the Hebrew? To support his inference that they had a language of their own when they went down into Egypt, and had not to learn one when they left it, such a dialectic difference as actually exists between Hebrew and Phœnician is sufficient.

[3] Gesenius, Mon. Phœn. lib. 4, c. 1. Movers (Ersch and Gruber, Encycl.

Besides inscribed stones and coins[1], there remains a curious monument of the Phœnician language, in its Punic branch, in the Pœnulus of Plautus. The plot of this play is the following:—Iacho, a Carthaginian, had lost a son seven years old, who had been carried off by pirates; and the father had consequently died of a broken heart. His brother and heir, Hanno, had lost two daughters in the same way, and had been seeking them and his nephew throughout the world. In the course of his travels he arrives at Calydon in Ætolia, where his nephew has been adopted by a wealthy inhabitant, and his daughters have fallen into the possession of a procurer. The fifth act of the play opens with an invocation by Hanno to the gods and goddesses of the place, and a brief account of the circumstances which have brought him to Calydon, in Latin and in Punic. The Punic, being written in Roman letters, has been grievously disfigured in transcription, and many successive generations of scholars have laboured to correct it, so as to bring it into harmony at once with the Latin and the Phœnician. In doing this they have succeeded in proportion as they have taken the Hebrew for their guide[2].

The Literature of Phœnicia in its original form has wholly perished, and little has been preserved through the medium of Greek translation. Its oldest productions appear to have been philosophical and theogonical, and the Greeks attributed to Sanchoniatho

Art. Phönizien) has collected with great care the differences between the Phœnician and the Bible Hebrew, and finds that the former leans much to Aramæan forms. The Bible Hebrew itself underwent a similar change in later times.

[1] A plate containing Phœnician and Punic coins, accompanied with explanations, is given at the end of the volume.

[2] See note appended to this chapter.

and Mochus an antiquity surpassing that of their own oldest literature. The language in which these authors are spoken of by Athenæus and others[1] might lead us to suppose that their writings were historical; but all that has been preserved of them is philosophical or theological. The other historians of Phœnicia are all known to us under Greek names,—Theodotus[2], Hypsicrates, Philostratus, Dius[3], Menander[4], Hieronymus, a native of Egypt and Præfect of Syria under Antigonus; and as they had introduced into their history the carrying off of Europa and the visit of Menelaus[5], it is evident that, like the Persian historians mentioned by Herodotus, they had mixed Greek legends with the native authorities. What we know of their contents has been preserved to us by the circumstance that their testimony was found valuable to the Jewish and Christian apologists for confirming the authority of Scripture. They appear to have been founded on authentic public documents, preserved at Sidon, Tyre,

[1] Athen. 3, 37. *Παρὰ τοῖς τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγεγραφόσι Σουνιαίθωνι καὶ Μωχῷ.* Porphyry (Abst Anim. 2, 94) calls the work of Sanchoniatho *Φοινικικὴ ἱστορία*; Theodoret *ἡ Φοινίκων θεολογία*. Strabo, however, speaks (757) of Mochus only as author of the doctrine of atoms, and what remains of Sanchoniatho is wholly mythical. It may be only a part of his work.

[2] He wrote in Phœnician, and his work was translated into Greek by an author named *Χαῖτος* or *Λαῖτος*. Joseph. c. Ap. 1, 23. Voss. Hist. Gr. lib. 3, p. 419.

[3] A long extract from Dius, relating to the intercourse between Hiram and Solomon, is preserved by Josephus, c. Ap. 1, 17. Comp. Antiq. 8, 2.

[4] He collected the histories of the several cities from their local records, and Josephus (u s) quotes from him the succession of the kings of Tyre. He was an Ephesian or Pergamene, Voss 3, p 386. Some of these names may be translations. The original name of Porphyry was Malchus (מלך) *king*, and the Greek name was given him in allusion to the royal colour, purple.

[5] Euseb. Pr. 10, 11, from Tatian adv. Gr. From this passage it seems evident that the Tyrian annals contained no *historical* facts earlier than the reign of Hiram, and that the mythic history was derived from the Greeks. Hieronymus mentioned the Deluge, Jos. Ant. 1, 4. Voss Hist Gr. p. 63.

and the other principal cities[1], and probably not much inferior in age to the historical literature of the Jews, with the exception of the Pentateuch. Their loss is deeply to be deplored, as having made the history of Phœnicia a blank for many centuries, and deprived those who originated or diffused the invention of letters of the benefit which states of much less importance have derived from it.

[1] Joseph. c. Ap. 1, 17. Ἔστι παρὰ Τυρίοις πόλλων ἐτῶν γράμματα, δημοσίᾳ γεγραμμενα καὶ πεφυλαγμένα λίαν ἐπιμελῶς, περὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γενομένων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πραχθέντων μνήμης ἀξίων. It is evident from what he says of Menander, that other states, as well as Tyre, kept historical records.

NOTE ON THE PHŒNICIAN ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE

The alphabet on the lithograph, given at the end of the volume, Pl. I., exhibits in corresponding columns the common or square Hebrew, the old Hebrew as seen on coins, the Phœnician and the archaic Greek[1] characters. The origin of the old Hebrew and Greek from the Phœnician will be obvious on inspection. The Etruscan and Celtiberian alphabets have been derived from the archaic Greek. The Lycian originated from the same source, but has two or three characters unknown to Greek palæography, and probably derived from the cuneiform writing[2]. The derivation of the Latin letters from the Greek is also obvious, but they exhibit greater symmetry, and the substitution of curves for angles in B, C, D and S. *Theta* has disappeared from the Latin alphabet altogether, as *Tzade* had already done from the Greek, except as an *episemon* for 900; the digamma F supplies the place of *phi*; and *qoph*, which is rare in Greek, being chiefly found on the coins of Corinth and its colonies[3], and Crotona, is a regular part of the

[1] The oldest extant Greek inscriptions date, according to Franz (Epigraphik, p. 39), from 620 to 460 B.C. They are almost entirely Doric or Æolic.

[2] See Philol. Soc. Proceedings, vol. i. p. 196.

[3] Eckhel, D. N. 2, 245.

Latin alphabet, being always followed by U, as it is commonly in Greek by O[1].

In tracing the investigations by which the Phœnician monuments have been interpreted, we begin with the bilingual inscriptions, which, though there is no exact correspondence between the Phœnician and the Greek, afford by their general resemblance a clue to the sense. They are comparatively few. The simplest is one found near the Piræus, inscribed in Greek, ΕΡΗΝΗ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΑ—in Phœnician,

הרנא בעלת בזנתי

Erene or Eirene is a Greek name, and the female here commemorated was no doubt the wife of a Phœnician merchant, settled or trading at Athens. בעלת seems to signify *matron*[2], בעל in Scripture being frequently used for husband (2 Sam. 11, 26).

Another bilingual inscription, which is preserved in the Naval and Military Museum, London, was found at Athens, between the ancient wall of the city and the garden of the Academy. The whole of this space, about three-quarters of a mile, was a cemetery[3], and contained sepulchres from which terra-cotta vases of great beauty have been exhumed[4]. The monument is of Pentelican marble, and evidently of Greek workmanship. The Phœnicians, who traded with Athens, had probably a commercial establishment there. It is a proof of the tolerance of the Athenians, that they were allowed to bury their dead and place their monuments in the public cemetery, beside the most eminent warriors and statesmen of Athens. The Greek inscription is—

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ
ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΣΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ.

The Phœnician, as read by Akerblad and Gesenius—

מצבת סכר בחים לעבדתנת בן
עבדשמש הצדני

"A tablet[5] of memory among the living to Obedtanith, son of Obedshemesh the Sidonian."

[1] Franz, Epigr. 46.
[2] Gesenius, M. P. 120, renders it *civis*.
[3] Paus. 1, c. 29.
[4] Dodwell's Greece, 1, 411.
[5] "Now Absalom in his lifetime had reared up for himself a מצבת, which is in the king's dale; for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance." 2 Sam. 18, 18.

The first word is of common occurrence in Scripture for a statue, pillar or cippus. The second appears to be either a peculiar form or a mistake for זכר. Obed Tanith, "servant of Tanith," represents the Greek Artemidorus. From other examples it appears that among the Phœnicians, as among the Hebrews, *Obed*, slave, servant, with the name of a deity, denoted devotion, as *Obadiah*, servant of Jah (Jehovah), while the Greeks, to whom the name of slave was obnoxious, expressed the same idea by *-dorus* (gift) added to the name of the deity[1]. Tanith was a deity whom the Greeks appear to have identified with Artemis. Her name occurs in several Carthaginian inscriptions; "To the mighty Tanith and to our Lord Baal[2]." Shemesh, sun, is the Greek Helios. Another bilingual Phœnician inscription found in the same place illustrates the practice of translating proper names. It is inscribed to the memory of בנחדש, "Son of the new moon," which the Greek renders by ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΣ.

A longer bilingual inscription is found on the basis of a marble candelabrum, brought from Malta to Paris. The Greek runs thus:—

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ ΟΙ
ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΥΡΙΟΙ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ 'ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΕΙ.

The Phœnician—

לאדנן למלקרת בעל צר : אש נדר
עבדך עבדאסר ואחי אסרשמר
שן בן אסרשמר בן עבדאסר : כשמע
קלם יברכם

"To our Lord, to Melkarth, Lord of Tyre. The man offering is
Thy servant Obedasir and my brother,
Both a son of Asirshamar, the son of Obedasir; when he hears
Their voice, may he bless them!"

It is a votive offering from two brothers to the tutelary deity of Tyre, whom the Greeks called Herakles, and the Phœnicians

[1] On the temple at Aboosimbel is a Phœnician inscription by an Obed-Ptha, which in Greek would be 'Ηφαιστοδῶρος. Judas, pl. 6. Obed-Sohar, a votary of Sohar, the oriental name of the planet Venus, occurs as the name of a Satrap of Cilicia on the Phœnician coins of that province. Luynes, p. 29.

[2] Tanith has been supposed to be the Anaitis or Tanaitis of the Greeks (Strabo, 11, 532), an Armenian and Persian goddess, identified with Venus (Clem. Al. Protr. cap. v.) or Diana (Boch. Geogr. Sac. 4, 19). Artaxerxes, the son of Ochus, had introduced her worship, among other places, at Damascus.

Melkarth. The Greek, however, gives only in summary the import of the Phœnician. Obedasir, "servant of Osiris," is rendered Dionysius, it being a common opinion that Osiris and Bacchus were the same; and as Adonis (or Lord) he was worshiped by the Phœnicians of Cyprus[1]. Asirshamar, which signifies "Osiris guards," is rendered Sarapion. Sarapis, after the introduction of his worship by Ptolemy Soter (if indeed it were not more ancient in Egypt), was identified among other deities with Osiris[2], and in great measure usurped his place. נדר, in the sense of *vow*, is of frequent occurrence in the Old Testament, 1 Sam. 1, 11, &c. The omission of י in the *status constructus* plural (שן בן) is common in the Phœnician inscriptions[3].

The difficulty of interpretation of course increases when we are deprived of the aid of an accompanying Greek inscription. Nevertheless the close affinity to the Hebrew continues to be manifest. The following is from the ruins of Carthage :—

לרבת לתנת ולבעלן
לאדן לבעל המן
אש נדר עבדמלקרת
השפט בן בדמלקרת
בן חנא

"To the mighty one (fem.), to Tanith and to our ruler,
To the Lord, to Baal Hamon.
The man who vows is Obedmelcarth
The Suffete, the son of Bedmelcarth
The son of Hanna."

Baal Hamon, or the solar Baal, is a deity of frequent occurrence in the Carthaginian inscriptions, "eternal Lord" being sometimes added to distinguish him from other deities, to whom the general name of Baal or Lord was given. It has been supposed that the name has some affinity to the Persian deity Amanus or Omanus, who was worshiped along with the goddess Anaitis before mentioned[4]. Considering the remoteness of Carthage, however, from the country to which his worship was indigenous, and the obvious derivation of the name from a Semitic root (חם,

[1] Steph. Byz. s. v. 'Αμαθοῦς.

[2] "Deum ipsum multi Æsculapium, quod medetur corporibus ægris; quidam Osirin, antiquissimum illis gentibus numen, conjectant." Tac. Hist. 4, 84.

[3] Gesen p 443.

[4] Strabo, 11, 512. Gesenius, p 171.

calor), this seems not probable, and the Egyptian Amun is differently spelt (אמון), Nahum, 3, 8. In the Numidian inscriptions the name is written כמן, a common interchange of ח with כ. See p. 71, note [2].

Hanna in this inscription appears to be the proper name of an individual, but in another inscription also found at Carthage (Judas, Étude Démonstrative, p. 147), the name Obed-Hanna occurs, indicating that Hanna was a Carthaginian divinity. The name in Hebrew, חנה, signifies *alma, gratiosa*, and was probably an epithet of the great goddess of Carthage, variously interpreted as Venus Urania or Juno, and identified with Dido, the foundress of the city. Ἄνα, according to Eustathius (ad Dionys. Periegct. 195), was indeed the same as Dido, though by the poets (Virg. Æn. 4) represented as her sister. In correspondence with the import of her name, her festival at Rome, as Anna Perenna, was celebrated at the opening of spring:—

> "Idibus est Annæ festum geniale Perennæ,
> Haud procul a ripis, advena, Tibri, tuis."—Ovid. Fast. 3, 523.

The variety of explanations of her name and character sufficiently shows that she was a mythological, not an historical personage:—

> "Sunt quibus hæc Luna est, quia mensibus impleat annum;
> Pars Themin, Inachiam pars putat esse bovem.
> Invenies, qui te Nymphen Atlantida dicant,
> Teque Jovi primos, Anna, dedisse cibos."—Ovid. Fast. 3, 657.

The most remarkable monument of the Phœnician language, however, is the Carthaginian tablet from Marseilles. It was discovered in the year 1845 in pulling down a house in that city, near the site of the ancient temple of Diana of Ephesus, the tutelary goddess of Massalia and all its colonies[1]. It has been executed with great care, being a public document; the characters are ranged symmetrically under each other, and are so distinctly cut that there is no difficulty in reading them. This renders it also easy to supply the letters which have been lost, as their number can be exactly estimated. Its purport has been already explained—to fix the prices to be paid for victims of different kinds, or perhaps at which they might be commuted. The stone has been fractured, and is besides mutilated at the beginning.

The following is the text of twelve lines, with the translation according to Movers, who has been most successful in explaining it. The portions within brackets have been restored, on the authority of other passages.

[1] Strabo, 4, 179.

1. בת בעל [ארן ?] ב * * * * * ו * ת אש ט * * * * * * * * * * * * * * תת עת * * * * בעל השפט בן ברתנת בן בד * * * * [וחלצבעל]
2. השפט בן בראשמן בן חלצבעל וח[ברנם]
3. באלף כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכדנם כסף עשרת באחד ו[ה]כלל יכן למעלת פן המשאת יש[אר משקל מאת וחמשם ז]
4. ובצועת קצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי השאר לבעל הזבח
5. בעגל אש קרן ילם במ[חצ]ר באש ו[מ]שא אם באיל כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכהנם כסף חמשת [באחד והכלל יכן למעל]
6. ת פן המשאת ישאר משקל מאת וחמשת ז ובצועת קצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפע[מם ואחרי השאר לבעל הזבח]
7. ביבל אם בעז כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכהנם כסף [ש]קל זר באחד ובצועת יכ[ן למעלת פן המשאת יקצרת]
8. ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי השאר לבעל הזבח
9. באמר אם בגדא אם בצר באיל כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכהנם כסף רבע שלשת ז[ר באחד ובצועת יכן למעלת]
10. פן המשאת יקצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי השאר לבעל [הזבח]
11. [בצ]פר אגנן אם צץ שלם כל[ל] אם שצף אם חזת לכהנם כסף רבע שלשת זר באחד וכן המ * * * * * * * * * *
12. [ב]צפר אם קדמת קדשה אם זבח צד אם זבח שמן לכהנם כסף א[חד] לבאחד * * * * * * * * * * * *

Translation.

1. "House of Baal * * * —bad the Suffete, the son of Bodtanit, the son of Bed * * [and Chalusbaal].
2. "The Suffete, the son of Bodesmun, son of Chalusbaal, and the [Hetæriæ].
3. "For an ox, perfect, whether purification or peace [offering], perfect, to the priests ten pieces of silver for one. And [the] perfect offering shall be prepared for the altar, only the honorary portion shall remain [to the weight of 150 *zuz*].
4. "And in pieces it is cut and roasted; but the skin and the loins and the feet and the remnants of the flesh are for the master of the sacrifice.
5. "For a steer whose horn is bound to the rack, or for a ram as a perfect offering, whether a purification or a perfect thank-offering, to the priests five pieces of silver [for each, and the perfect offering is prepared for the al-]
6. "tar; but the honorary portion remains to the weight of 150 *zuz*. And it is cut in pieces and roasted; but the

skin and the loins and the feet [and the rest of the flesh are for the master of the sacrifice].

7. "For a he-goat or a kid, perfect, whether a purification or a perfect thank-offering, to the priests a shekel of foreign silver for each, and the pieces are prepared [for the altar; only the honorary portion is cut off]

8. "and roasted: but the skin and the loins and the feet and the rest of the flesh are for the master of the sacrifice.

9. "For a lamb, or a young he-goat, or in case of need for a deer, perfect, whether a purification or a perfect thank-offering, to the priests three-fourths of a piece of silver, for[eign money for each, and the pieces are prepared for the altar.]

10. "But the honorary portion is cut off and roasted; and the skin and the loins and the feet and the rest of the flesh are for the master of the sacrifice.

11. "[For] a waterfowl, if it be young, a perfect thank-offering, whether an offering with or is paid to the priests three-fourths of a piece of foreign silver for each.

12. "[For a] bird if it be the first holy offering, or an offering with victuals, or an offering with oil, to the priest a piece of silver."

The fracture of the stone has destroyed so much of each line in the remaining part, that no connected sense can be made out. It appears to have prescribed the mode of preparing the sacrifice for roasting, and prohibited the offering of any lean or imperfect animal.

NOTES.

1. The use of בת for בית is common in the Phœnician inscriptions, as בת עלם, *domus æterna*, in a Maltese inscription. The title of Suffete shows that the decree originated from Carthage.

2. The name Bodesmun (abbreviated from Obedesmun, servant of Esmun, the Phœnician Æsculapius) occurs also on an inscription of Citium. Chalusbaal may signify "warrior of Baal," as Is. 15, 4, חלצי מואב, "the warriors of Moab," or, "whom Baal rescues." Ps. 6, 5 (Heb.). The word חברנם, which is here imperfect, occurs at full length in the nineteenth line of the inscription. It is derived from the Hebrew חבר, Hos. 6, 9, "the company of priests," and here denotes a board joined with the Suffetes in the administration of religious affairs at Carthage.

3. The word כליל, in the Old Testament (Deut. 33, 10), signifies a

holocaust, or sacrifice which was consumed entire upon the altar; this, however, cannot be the meaning of כלל in our inscription, as the offerer was to retain a considerable portion of it for his own use. It must here mean perfect in its kind, a point essential in offerings acceptable to the deity[1]. צערת has been conjecturally rendered *purification*, from an Arabic root, the Hebrew not furnishing any etymology, and will then stand for a purifying or piacular *offering*, as in Hebrew שלם, health, for a thank-offering for benefits received. The use of כסף, *silver*, for a silver shekel is frequent in Scripture, Gen. 20, 16. מעלה signifies in Hebrew, not an altar, but a raised *bema* (Neh. 9, 4), or the steps by which the altar was ascended (Exod. 20, 23), but from this the notion of an altar is easily derived. משאת (from נשא, to carry off) is used in Scripture to denote the choice portion, the γέρας of the Homeric feasts[2], which was placed before the guest whom his host delighted to honour (2 Sam. 11, 8). We find in the Latin writers allusions to the custom of cutting off a portion of the sacrifice, which was placed sometimes raw, sometimes roasted, as a dainty before the gods[3]. The weight *zuz* was the fourth part of a shekel, nearly answering to the Roman drachma[4], of which eight went to a Roman pound.

4. יצלת is the same word which is used, 1 Sam. 2, 15, for roasting. ערת is the Hebrew עור (Job, 2, 4. 19, 26), used here in a feminine form, which in Hebrew it has only in the plural. The skin of the victim belonged to the offerer, according to the Jewish custom, except in the case of a burnt offering (Lev. 7, 8). שלב in Hebrew has not the sense of loins, but has in Arabic. פעם, *planta*, in Hebrew is poetically used (Ps. 17, 5) for the foot, instead of the more common רגל. In Punic it appears, from a passage in Augustine's works, to have been the common term[5].

5. The first words of this line have caused great difficulty to the expounders of the inscription. עגל is the common Hebrew word for a calf or steer, but the words which follow have been variously understood. The translation given above (which is that of Movers) supposes אש to be an abbreviated form for אשר, as in many other instances in this inscription, forming a transition to ש, the usual relative in the Phœnician, and found also in the later books of the Old Testament. The words "whose horn is bound to the rack," are supposed to denote the commencement of the third year, and are illustrated by the following passages from Varro, R. R. 6, 2: "Nec ante tertium neque post quintum annum domari juvencos placet. In stabulo sint ampla præsepia, supraque transversi asseres ad quos religari possint juvenci."

[1] "If there be any blemish therein, of it be lame or blind, thou shalt not sacrifice it unto the Lord thy God." Deut. 15, 21. Mal. 1, 8.

[2] Od. δ', 66.

[3] These portions were called *prosiciæ*. Arnob. adv. Gent. 7, p. 231, ed. Maire.

[4] Ζοῦσαι, δραχμαί. Hes. See the Commentators.

[5] "*Nam phamo* (נעם פעמו) quid aliud significat quam 'boni hominis pedem?'" Op. 2, p. 28.

This age, when the steer or heifer was still in the stall, and had not been subdued to the plough, was especially suited to a sacrifice. Gen. 15, 9. Numb. 19, 2. Ov. F. 4, 335, "sine labe juvencam Mactarunt operum conjugiique rudem."

7. יבל appears from the connexion to denote an animal of the goat-tribe, but it bears no such meaning in Hebrew. It is, however, plausibly derived by Movers from יבל, to lead (Jer. 50, 8). עז and גדא, which occur afterwards, are Hebrew names for the goat (Gen. 27, 9), גדי עזים. The price is given in *foreign* shekels (זר); but our knowledge of the numismatic system of Carthage or Massalia is too imperfect to allow of our deciding what standard is meant. Movers supposes it to be the Ægineto-Corinthian. The Oriental shekel was reckoned equal to the didrachmon (Sept. Gen. 23, 15); but the original Æginetan didrachmon had been lowered by the Corinthians; and if the shekel of full weight were still current in Phœnicia and at Carthage, the depreciated didrachmon might be called "the foreign shekel."

9. אמר is not used in the Hebrew books of the Old Testament for *lamb*, but is found in this sense in the Chaldee (Ezra, 6, 9) and Syriac. The same word, pointed אַיִל, signifies in Hebrew a ram, as in l. 5; but אַיָּל, a deer (Deut. 12, 15). Movers supposes that it is here to be taken in the latter sense, and quotes Polybius, 34, 8, as a proof of the low estimation in which wild animals were held in Spain.

11. Birds, according to the ancient ritual of sacrifice, were substituted by the poorer class for the more costly offerings of four-footed animals[1]. The meaning of אגנן is uncertain; Movers derives it from אגם, *palus*. צץ is apparently connected with the Hebrew ציץ (נצץ, נוץ), a wing (Jer. 48, 9); and צוץ in the Samaritan signifies a new-fledged bird. The Israelites were enjoined to offer only *young* doves (Lev. 1, 14). In this line of the inscription, the words אם שצפת אם חזת are supposed to denote offerings employed for divination. חזת is evidently connected with the Hebrew חזה, to see, used specially of prophetic vision (Habak. 1, 1); and שזף (ז is frequently interchanged in Hebrew with צ) has also the sense of seeing (Job. 20, 9; Cant. 1, 6); but what the particular kinds of offering were to which the inscription refers, is not known. Divination by the entrails of birds was especially an oriental practice (Juvenal, 6, 548).

12. קדשת may, according to a suggestion of Movers, signify "of a courtezan," Kedescha (Deut. 23, 18), a class of persons who were not only not excluded from heathen sacrifices, but attached in large numbers to the temples, especially in places of great commercial resort, like Corinth and Marseilles. צד answers to the מנחה of the Old Testa-

[1] Levit. 5, 7. "If he be not able to bring a lamb, then he shall bring for his trespass two turtle doves." Pausan. 10, 32, of the feast of Isis at Tithorea. Θύουσι καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἐλάφους οἱ εὐδαιμονέστεροι, ὅσοι δέ εἰσιν ἀποδέοντες πλούτῳ καὶ χῆνας καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς μελεαγρίδας.

ment, and was the cake of meal, oil and wine which accompanied the sacrifice. The victim appears to have been divided into three parts. The fat was burnt upon the altar to the gods; the destination of the honorary portion is not clear; it probably came to the priests; the rest of the body belonged to the sacrificer, or, as the inscription calls him, "the master of the sacrifice."

The close resemblance to the Hebrew which will be traced throughout this inscription is the more remarkable, since in a distant colony, like Carthage, the mother tongue of the Tyrians might have been expected to undergo considerable variations.

THE "PŒNULUS" OF PLAUTUS.

In interpreting the Punic passages from the Pœnulus of Plautus, a great difficulty arises from the corruption which the transcribers have introduced into the text. They stand thus in the edition of Lambinus, Act 5. Sc. 1 :—

1. Nythalonim valonuth si corathisima consith
2. Chym lach chunyth mumys tyalmyctibari imisehi
3. Lipho canet hyth bimithi ad ædin bynuthi.
4. Bynarob syllo homalon in uby misyrthoho
5. Bithlym mothyn noctothii nolechanti dasmachon
6. Yssidele brim tyfel yth chylys chon tem lisul
7. Yth bynim ysdibur thinno cuth nu Agorastocles
8. Ythe manet hihy chyrsæ lycoeh sith naso
9. Bynni id chil luhili gubylim lasibit thym
10. Bodyali herayn nyn nuys lym moncothlusim
11. Exanolim volanus succuratim misti atticum esse
12. Concubitum a bello cutim beant lalacant chona enus es
13. Huiec si lec panesse athidamascon alem indu berte felono buthume.
14. Celtum comucro lueni, atenim ausonber hent hyach Aristoclem
15. Et te ieaneche nasoctelia alicos alemus duberter mi comps vespiti.
16. Aodeanec lictorbodes jussum lemnimeolus.

The Latin runs thus :—

1. Deos deasque veneror qui hanc urbem colunt
2. Ut quod de mea re huc veni, rite venerim,
3. Measque ut gnatas et mei fratris filium
4. Reperire me siritis, dii vostram fidem!
5. [Quæ mihi subreptæ sunt, et fratris filium.]
6. Sed hic mihi antehac hospes Antidamas fuit
7. Eum fecisse aiunt sibi quod faciundum fuit.
8. Ejus filium hic prædicant esse Agorastoclem.
9. Deum hospitalem ac tesseram mecum fero.
10. In hisce habitare monstratu'st regionibus.
11. Hos percontabor qui huc egrediuntur foras.

Agorastoclem ends the eighth line of the Latin, and *Agorastocles* the seventh of the Punic; but the fifth line of the Latin, "quæ mihi subreptæ sunt et fratris filium," only repeats the meaning of the third, and embarrasses the construction. It is therefore probably an interpolation. Omitting it, the correspondence is exact, and it is reasonable to conclude that both the Latin and the Punic ended with the eleventh line. Hence it was early suspected that from the eleventh to the end of the Punic is an independent passage, and a repetition of the other with some variations[1]. The collation of MSS., and especially a Milan palimpsest published by Mai, has both confirmed this idea, and furnished many corrections of the transcription in Latin letters. It is thus exhibited by Movers:—

1. Yth alonim ualonuth sicorathi simacom syth
2. Chy 'mla chuny thmum ysthyal mythi bar uim ysehi
3. Lipho caneth yth bynuthi iad aedin bin ui.
4. Bymarob syllohim alonim ubymysyrthomo
5. Byth ilymmoth ynnocho thunlech antidamaschon
6. Ys sidobrim thyfel yth chyl ischon them liful
7. Yth binim ys diburth ynnocho ihy agorastocles
8. Yth emaneth ihy chirs aelychoth sithi nasothi
9. By nuyid chi lluch ily gubulim lasibithim
10. Bodys lythera ysl ymmon clio 'th iusim.

In Hebrew characters thus:—

1. את עלונים ועלנות שקראתי שמקום זאת
2. כי ימלא כני תמום אשתאל מיתי בער ועם אשהיא
3. לי פה קנת את בנותי יחד אידין בן אחי
4. במרוב שאלהים עלונים ובמישרתמו
5. בעת עלמים אינכה תהולך אנטידמסכון
6. איש שדברים תפעל את כל אש כן תם לפעל
7. את בנם אש דבורת אינכה יהי אגורסטקלס
8. את אמנת יהי חרש ההליכות שאתי נשאתי
9. בי נועד כי אלוך אלה גבלים לשבת חמו
10. בהדי איש לתרע אשאל המון כה את יוצאים

1. "The gods and goddesses whom I call upon who are of this

[1] See Bochart, Geogr. Sac. P. 2, 2, ch. 6. He thought the second to be in the Libyan language.

place." Scaliger observed that Sisenna (a learned Roman annalist and antiquary, who wrote a commentary on Plautus) had quoted *Alon* as the Punic name for *god*. It is the Hebrew עליון (Gen. 14, 18), *supreme*. The use of ש for the relative has been already illustrated. מקום in Hebrew is of common gender, but in the singular usually feminine.

2. The Latin translation of this verse is by no means literal. The original means, "that fulfilled may be my purpose entirely, I pray, my coming to this city and to the people of it." כון is in Hebrew to fix or settle, here used of a fixed purpose. מיתי is an infinitive form of אתה, a poetical word for *come* (Dan. 3, 2). The *aleph* disappears, as here, in the Chaldee portions of Scripture. ער for עיר is an archaism. אשהיא is a compound of אש, the Phœnician form of the relative (see p. 177, 5), and the feminine pronoun referring to ער.

3. "For myself here to obtain my daughters, at the same time with these the son of my brother." אידין, a word not otherwise known, is supposed by Movers to be the same as אלין, used in the Chaldee for *these*. אדין, however, in Chaldee (Dan. 2, 15) means "then," and may here be used for "next."

4. "By the judgement of the supreme gods and by their justice."

5. "In time of old here was a friend, Antidamascon." In the reading of this passage there is a good deal of conjecture. אינכה has not in Hebrew the sense of *here*, but אין is used for *where*, chiefly in interrogation; and כה has the same signification. תהולך, in the sense of *hospes*, is supposed to be derived from הלך, to travel, as denoting a foreign friend.

6. "A man who they say does everything which it is fit for the upright man to do." The form תפעל is an example of a mode of forming a conjugation by a prefixed ת which is very rare in Hebrew, but regular in Arabic.

7. "The son of whom it is said is here, Agorastocles."

8. "A sign of truth shall be the tessera of hospitality which I carry with me." את is a contracted form for אות (σύμβολον), as in Chaldee (Dan. 3, 32). In this case the tessera appears to have been a piece of pottery (חרש, Levit. 6, 21), which was broken between the parties contracting the relation of hospitality, so that each retaining

a part, they could be compared when brought together, like the edges of a tally. It has been supposed that the device was a head of Jupiter Hospitalis, as Hanno says (5, 1, 25), "Deum hospitalem ac tesseram[1] mecum fero;" and the act of comparison is thus described:—

"AGORASTOCLES. Ego sum ipsus quem tu quæris.
HANNO. Si ita est, me *tesseram*
Conferre si vis *hospitalem*, eccam attuli.
AGORASTOCLES. Agedum huc ostende: est par probe; nam habeo [domi."

In Josh. 2, 12, the thread by which the house of Rahab was to be recognized, is called אות אמת, "sign of truth."

9. "It was shown me that here is the neighbourhood in which he dwells." There can be no doubt that the *hisce regionibus* of the Latin is represented by the *ily gubulim* of the transcription of the Punic, גבולים being a common word in Hebrew for *borders*. The first words are not so easily analysed, and they have been variously divided and rendered. בי is the common Hebrew pronoun with preposition, though לי would be more usual with such a verb as יעד, to indicate. *Illuch* is also of doubtful meaning, but is explained *here*, after the analogy of the Chaldee הלכא.

10. "Of these men at the door will I inquire, those who are there coming out." The first word of this line is of very doubtful import. Movers refers it to a supposed form of the pronoun די for זה; others give different renderings. There can be no doubt, however, that *thera* is the Syriac and Chaldee תרע, formed by transposition from the Hebrew שער, a door or gate; that *ysl* is אשאל; and *iusim*, יוצים, "egredientes," by which the general correspondence with the Hebrew and the Latin is ascertained, although some of the words are difficult to be explained.

In a later part of the play (Act 5. Sc. 2) some further specimens of the Punic are introduced. Milphio, the slave of Agorastocles, the nephew of Hanno, undertakes to act as interpreter between

[1] A *tessera hospitalis* of ivory was found in 1749, near the ancient Lilybæum, in which the names of the parties are respectively Punic or Phœnician and Greek. Bellermann de Phœn. Inscr. p. 24. In the decree (Böckh, Corp. Inscr. 1, 126), by which Strato king of Sidon is made Proxenus of the Athenian people, *ξύμβολα*, *tesseræ*, are to be exchanged, by which the ambassadors of each party might be identified.

Agorastocles, who has forgotten his Punic, and Hanno, who pretends to understand no Latin. Milphio, however, soon comes to a standstill in his office of interpreter, and instead of reporting to Agorastocles the real meaning of what Hanno says, substitutes some ludicrous Latin words, resembling the Punic in sound. The commentators have endeavoured to restore the Punic here, as before, from the text in which it is expressed in Latin characters; but having only the travestie of Milphio, and not a translation, it is not wonderful that the result has been unsatisfactory. The following is the beginning of the dialogue :—

"AGOR. Adi atque appella, quid velit, quid venerit,
Qui sit, quoiatis, unde sit; ne parseris.
MILPH. *Avo!* quoiates estis aut quo ex oppido?
HANN. *Annon muthumballe bechaedre anech.*
AGOR. Quid ait? MI. Hannonem sese ait Carthagine,
Carthaginensis Muthumballis filium.
HANN. *Avo!* MI. Salutat. HANN. *Donni.* MI. *Doni* volt tibi
Dare hic nescio quid; audin' pollicerier?
AGOR. Saluta hunc rursus Punice verbis meis.
MILPH. *Avo donni* mihi, inquit hic verbis suis.
HANN. *Meh arbocha.* MI. Istuc tibi sit potius quam mihi!
AGOR. Quid ait? MI. *Miseram* esse predicat *buccam* sibi;
Fortasse medicos nos esse arbitrarier."

So the dialogue proceeds, till Milphio is obliged to confess his ignorance, and Hanno speaks in Latin. The whole scene has been contrived to afford a popular audience the amusement which the misapprehension of a foreigner, speaking his own language, by an illiterate native, never fails to produce. *Avo donni* (חוו [א]דוני), *vivas domine*, appears to have been the popular Punic salutation[1], which might be known to Milphio, as "bon jour, Monsieur," to an Englishman whose knowledge of French extended little further. His next interpretation is correct, the original containing only proper names, Hanno, Muthumbaal, Bechaedre ("in Carthage"),

[1] The name חוה, Gen. 3, 20, shows the change of י into ו in this word. There is an epigram on Meleager (Anth. Gr. vii. 20, 419, ed. Jacobs), who had been born of Attic parents at Gadara, had spent his manhood in Tyre, and his old age in Cos. The passers-by are accordingly invited to salute his manes in Syriac, Phœnician, and Greek :—

'Αλλ' εἰ μὲν Σύρος ἐσσί, Σαλάμ, εἰ δ' οὖν σύγε Φοῖνιξ,
Αὔδονις, εἰ δ' Ἕλλην Χαῖρε, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ φράσον.

The common reading is Ναίδιος, which has no meaning; Αὔδονις (avo donni) is the correction of Scaliger, Append. Op. de Em. Temp. p. 32.

and *aneeh*, the Hebrew pronoun of the first person.* In the third he substitutes for a translation a jest on the sound of Hanno's words to a Roman ear. In *Meh arbocha* the first word is evidently the Hebrew מה, what? The second is obscure. Movers supposes it to be ערבך, "thy confusion," gibberish.

On the whole, the evidence which the inscriptions afford of the very close affinity of the Phœnician and the Hebrew is decisive; and though much is conjectural in the interpretation of the passages from the Pœnulus, yet many words are unquestionably Hebrew, and the probability is that the resemblance would be closer, if we could recover the original readings of the MSS. of Plautus.

CHAPTER VI.

COMMERCE.

ALTHOUGH we cannot fix with chronological accuracy the time when the Phœnicians "settling on the shores of the Mediterranean began to occupy themselves in distant voyages[1]," we know enough of the condition of the tribes which bordered it, to understand the important part which Phœnicia bore in civilizing them. Manufacturing industry and the arts of life had attained to high perfection in Egypt and probably in Assyria; but their diffusion was stopped—in Assyria by the intervention of the Desert, and the want of any point of contact with the Levant; in Egypt, by the habits of the people and the maxims of the monarchy, which discountenanced maritime enterprise. It is true, that since the monuments of Egypt have been explored and deciphered, it has appeared to be neither so destitute of ships, nor so averse from navigation as had been supposed. The accounts of the voyage of Sesostris in the Red Sea have been confirmed by the appearance of fleets in the paintings which record the wars of Rameses IV.; still we may safely regard this as an exception which does not invalidate the general truth. The activity of the Phœnicians supplied the link that was wanting to connect the civilization of the East with Europe and Western Africa. In process of time they became themselves manufacturers, and

[1] Her. 1, 1.

drew into the circle of their commerce the whole produce of the world; but their original office was to transport the wares of Assyria and Egypt[1]. A new æra began in the history of the human race, when the first trading-vessel put forth from the harbour of Sidon.

A glance at the map will suffice to show what a wide extent of country was thus opened to the influence of civilization. The seaman, as yet imperfect in his art, required a long line of coast, where he might advance from headland to headland, or a sea studded with islands, which might therefore be crossed without losing sight of land. The Mediterranean fulfilled both these conditions. From the southern shores of Phœnicia to the recesses of the Euxine, a sea-coast of several thousand miles might be visited, affording a constant succession of harbours; and returning from the Hellespont, a similar line might be traced to the southern promontory of Greece. If the coast of Greece were to be reached by direct navigation, Cyprus was distinctly seen from the shore of Syria; Rhodes, with its excellent harbours, lies within a short distance of the Asiatic coast, and Crete is visible from the summit of its principal mountain. The Sporades and Cyclades are so scattered and grouped over the surface of the Ægean, that even in the most imperfect age of navigation, the voyage from Asia, or from Crete to Greece, might be accomplished without difficulty[2]. Coasting upwards from Malea, the Phœ-

[1] Herod. u. s. Pomponius Mela, speaking of the coast of Syria, says, "Populi dites circumsidunt; situs efficit; quia regio fertilis, crebris et navigabilibus alveis fluminum pervia, *diversas opes maris atque terrarum facili commercio permutat ac miscet.*" 1, 12.

[2] See p. 73–97.

nicians, whom we have traced as far as Illyria[1], would easily make the passage from Corcyra to the coasts of Italy, and thence to Sicily and Africa. The western portion of the Mediterranean, from Sicily to the Straits, does not present equal facilities to direct navigation; but the north coast of Africa is favourable to commerce, both from its natural fertility and its connexion with the regions of the interior; and its harbours, which in recent times have been nests of piracy, would offer security to the sailor as he made his way to the West. Nor would it be long after the Pillars of Hercules had been reached by this route, before he would discover the facility for the direct voyage afforded by the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, Sicily and Malta, which nature has so distributed as to break the long interval by convenient resting-places.

If the Phœnicians brought with them from their home on the Erythræan Sea, the habits of their kinsmen the Arabs, they would be at once pirates and merchants. Maritime commerce, indeed, seems everywhere to begin with this combination. A law of nations is imposed with difficulty on rovers of the sea, who have such ready means of escape, and it is long before self-interest teaches a wandering trader the value of a character for honesty. Though Minos rooted out the Phœnician and Carian pirates from the islands of the Ægean[2], kidnapping and barter were practised indifferently by the crews of their ships. Homer, who knows of no Phœnicians but those of the Sidonian coast, represents them as carrying off and selling for slaves men and women whom they could get into their power by force or fraud. Even a religious character

[1] See p. 100. [2] Thucyd. 1, 8

was no protection. Herodotus explains the transference of the rites of Egypt to Libya and Greece[1], by supposing that female ministers of an Egyptian temple had been carried off and sold into slavery by the Phœnicians. Whatever we may think of this as an historical explanation, it is evidence of the early existence and wide extent of their practice of piracy. If, however, Europe may have suffered from their violence, it is certain that from their visits she received the rudiments of her civilization, and imbibed a taste for the elegances of life[2]. The progress of art, as its germs are found almost universally, is not easily traced; but the use of alphabetical characters, and what is of equal importance, arithmetic, has been clearly derived from Phœnicia by every ancient nation, from the Greeks of Asia to the Celtiberians[3]; and no works or monuments of art exist, throughout this extent, for which a higher antiquity can reasonably be presumed, than the commencement of Phœnician intercourse.

The traditions of Herodotus refer to the earliest times of Grecian history. In the Homeric poems we see what the relations of Greece and Phœnicia were supposed to be in the age of the Trojan War. The choicest works of art came from Sidon and its territory; the produce of its looms furnished the most costly offering to the gods[4]; its trinkets captivated

[1] 2, 54.

[2] Herod. 5, 58. See p. 157. Cic. de Rep. 3, 36. "Phœnices primi mercaturis et mercibus suis avaritiam et magnificentiam et inexplebiles cupiditates omnium rerum exportaverunt in Græciam."

[3] The Runic letters, whatever their age may be, whether borrowed from the Phœnicians or from the Greeks and Romans, have no claim to be an original invention of the northern nations. The Celtiberian and old Italian alphabets are manifestly derived from the archaic Greek.

[4] Il. ψ', 743. ζ, 290.

the maidens of the Grecian islands[1]. We learn from the passage last quoted how little honour and good faith were regarded in their dealings. Eumæus there relates his own adventures. A ship manned by "crafty Phœnicians" came to his native island of Syria, furnished with an endless variety of trinkets. In the house of his father the king of the island was a Phœnician woman, the daughter of a wealthy Sidonian, whom Taphian pirates had carried off and sold. In the hope of revisiting her native country by their means she promises them to decoy the king's son on board their ship, that they might sell him for a large price beyond the seas. They remain in the harbour for a year, collecting a cargo for the return voyage. At the end of this time one of the crew came to the house; and while the matron and her female slaves were intently admiring a necklace of gold and electrum which he exhibited to them, gave a signal to the Phœnician woman that all was ready. She took Eumæus by the hand, and led him to the ship, secreting in her bosom as she left the palace three of the cups out of which the king and his nobles used to drink. The Phœnician vessel lay ready for a start in the harbour, and Eumæus being thus kidnapped, was sold as a slave to Laertes in Ithaka. Ulysses, in his feigned narrative to Alcinous, represents himself as inveigled from Egypt by a "crafty Phœnician who had done much evil to men;" and who carried him to Phœnicia, but afterwards put him on board a ship, intending to transport him to Libya and sell him there, had

[1] Ἔνθα δὲ Φοίνικες ναυσίκλυτοι ἤλυθον ἄνδρες
Τρῶκται, μυρί᾽ ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηῒ μελαίνῃ.
Od. ο', 415.

he not been shipwrecked on the way[1]. They traded where trade was profitable, scrupling no violence when it could answer their purpose; but we have seen that their morality in this respect was only on a level with that of their neighbours. It was no offence in this age to ask a stranger if he were a pirate[2]. As the Phœnicians visited distant countries, unknown to the rest of the world, they seem to have indulged the usual propensity of voyagers to impose tales on their hearers, and a "Phœnician figment" became a proverbial expression for a false narrative or a traveller's wonder[3]. They were naturally desirous to hide from others the course which they pursued to the countries with which they carried on their profitable traffic, and the sources whence they derived those rare commodities with which they supplied the markets of the world. Although they had supplied tin and amber for several centuries to the Greeks, Herodotus, who had visited Tyre, could only obtain very vague accounts of the countries in which they were produced. To conceal the origin of the cinnamon and frankincense, they fabled that the former was obtained by stratagem from the nests of birds, built on inaccessible crags; and the latter from trees guarded by winged serpents[4]. Their policy resembled that of the Dutch, who not only made a secret of the sources whence they derived their commodities, but did not scruple to use violence in order to preserve their monopoly. The master of a Phœnician trader from Cadiz to

[1] Od. ξ', 285

[2] Thucyd. 1, 5. Od. γ', 71. ι, 252. Hymn. Apoll. 452.

[3] Strabo, p. 170. Etym. Magn. s. v.

[4] Her. 3, 107, 111, 115. To obtain the cassia they said they had to protect themselves by a clothing of hides against winged creatures, resembling bats, which inhabited the marshes where the cassia grew. 3, 110.

the Cassiterides, perceiving himself followed by a Roman ship, purposely ran his own on shore that he might lead the other to destruction, and that the country whence tin was brought might not be discovered. He received from the state the value of the cargo which he had sacrificed. We are not, however, to suppose that the ordinary dealings of the Phœnicians were fraudulent. Pindar would not have compared his own relations to his patron Hiero, from whom he received largess for his odes, with those of a Phœnician merchant, had their commerce always being carried on in a huckstering spirit, as it has been sometimes represented[1]. There is no recognized scale of value in the dealings of a civilized and an uncivilized people when they first meet to barter their commodities, and the most enormous profits of the Phœnician trader were not unjust in exchanging the pottery of Athens for the ivory of Africa[2]. Such profits are the necessary incentive to a distant and dangerous traffic. But in their commerce with the merchants of Egypt, Assyria, or Attica, they must have dealt according to established rules and prin-

[1] Pyth. 2, 125 (68, Böckh).

Τόδε μὲν κατὰ Φοίνισσαν ἐμπολὰν
Μέλος ὑπὲρ πολιᾶς ἁλὸς πέμπεται.

"Phœnician commerce" was a proverbial expression for an interchange mutually beneficial.

.........Φοῖνιξ γίνομαι·
Τῇ μὲν δίδωμι χειρὶ, τῇ δὲ λαμβάνω.

Fragm. ap. Hemst. Plut. 1157.

Κάπηλος, a name applied to the Phœnicians by Sophocles (Fragm. inc. 82), is not originally a term of reproach. Κάπηλος ὁ ἀγοράζων ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοπώλου (the producer) καὶ πωλῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. Schol. Arist. Plut. u. s. The explanation of Heyne, that Pindar means only that his ode was sent over the sea, and of Böckh, that it was sent by a private ship, appear to me very flat and pointless.

[2] Scylax, c. 111.

ples, and if their gains were great, it was because no other nation on the Mediterranean shores enjoyed so favourable a position, or manifested so much skill and enterprise.

The commerce of Phœnicia appears to have reached its greatest height about the time of the rise of the Chaldæan power at Babylon. Its monopoly may have been more complete in earlier times, but the range of its traffic was more confined. Nebuchadnezzar was impelled to attempt its conquest by a double motive—to possess himself of its riches and to become master of its harbours and its navy. The prophet Ezekiel (ch. 27), foretelling his siege of Tyre, has drawn a picture of its commerce, which is the most valuable document for its commercial history that has come down to us. It is here presented entire, as the best guide in our further inquiries into its relations with the Eastern and Western world.

"Son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyre; and say unto Tyre, O thou that art situate at the entrance of the sea, merchant of the peoples for many coasts[1]! Thus saith the Lord God; O Tyre, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty. Thy borders are in the heart of the waters; thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy planks of fir from Shenir[2]; they have taken cedar from Lebanon to make thee a mast. Of the oaks of Bashan they have made thine oars; thy row-benches of ivory in box[3] from the

[1] The Hebrew name איים (see p. 118, note [9]) was specially given to the coasts of Asia Minor, Greece, Italy and Spain, which were but imperfectly known to the Jews.

[2] Shenir, the Amorite name (Deut. 3, 9) for Hermon, a part of Lebanon.

[3] The words בת אשרים, rendered by our translators "com-

coasts of Chittim[1]. Fine linen[2] with embroidery from Egypt was spread out for thy sail; thine awning was of blue and purple from the coasts of Greece[3]. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners; thy skilful men, O Tyre, were in thee as pilots. The old men and the skilful men of Byblus[4] were in thee as calkers; all the ships of the sea with their sailors were in thee to carry on thy traffic. The men of Pheres and Lud and Phut were in thine army as warriors; they hung shield and helmet upon thee; they gave thee thine ornament. The men of Arvad were in thine army upon thy walls round about; the valiant men[5] were in thy towers; they hung their bucklers on thy walls round about; they made thy beauty perfect. Tarshish was thy dealer by the abundance of all riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they furnished thy markets. Javan, Tubal, and Mesech[6] were thy dealers; with living men and vessels of brass they furnished thy market. From the house

panies of the Ashurites," are read בתאשרים, and rendered as in the text. That the box was a valued tree appears from Isaiah, 60, 13, and it was inlaid with ivory:—

"........quale per artem
Inclusum buxo aut Oricio terebintho
Lucet ebur."—Virg. Æn. 10, 135.

[1] "Isles of Chittim" was the Hebrew phrase for the western parts of Europe; the Pyrenees and Corsica supplied the best box in the ancient world (Plin. 16, 16 (28). Diod. 5, 14). To attain perfection it requires a colder climate than that of Palestine. It is not in the list of trees which now grow on Lebanon (Cels. Hierob. 2, 272), and the natural inference from Is. 60, 13, is that it was not indigenous.

[2] Heb. שש, the word by which linen is always designated in the Pentateuch.

[3] The coast of Laconia furnished a purple inferior to that of Tyre, and therefore suited for the coarser purpose of an awning. Paus. 3, 21.

[4] Gebal. See p. 11.

[5] גמדים, which is derived from a Syriac root signifying *fierce*.

[6] Greece, especially Ionic Greece; Tibarene and Moschia in the north-east of Asia Minor. Her. 3, 94.

of Togarmah[1], horses and chariot-horses and mules furnished thy markets. The sons of Dedan[2] were thy dealers; many coasts were the markets of thy hand; they returned ivory and ebony as thy recompense. Syria[3] was thy dealer from the multitude of thy fabrics; with jewels, and purple, and embroidery, and cotton[4], and corals, and rubies they furnished thy markets. Judah and the land of Israel were thy dealers; they furnished thy markets with wheat of Minnith[5], and Pannag[6], and grape-honey[7], and oil, and balsam. Damascus was thy dealer in the multitude of thy fabrics, from the abundance of all riches, in the wine of Helbon[8], and white wool. Dan also, and Javan of Uzal[9], furnished thy markets; bright

[1] Armenia, Gen. 10, 3. The Armenian nation deduces itself from Thorgom, a son of Gomer. Strabo makes the Colchians, Iberians, and Armenians to be all possessors of parts of Moschice (11, p. 499).

[2] Dedan is mentioned, Gen. 10, 7, as a son of Cush; 25, 3, as a son of Abraham by Keturah. The former, spoken of in this verse, are probably the people of the island Daden in the Persian Gulf. They traded with India, and imported thence its characteristic productions, ivory and ebony. The Dedan mentioned in verse 20 was an Arabian tribe near the Red Sea. See Mich. Spic. Geogr. 1, 201. Comp. Ezek. 25, 13. Jer. 25, 23; 49, 8, where the Arabian Dedan is meant.

[3] For ארם, Syria, some would read אדם, Edom, the Idumæans, whose inhabitants from their activity in commerce might have been expected to be mentioned here. The Sept. ἀνθρώπους indicates that the translator read אדם.

[4] בוץ, *byssus*, here mentioned for the first time in Scripture.

[5] Judges, 11, 33.

[6] If *panicum*, millet, had been an oriental name, it would have been the most probable explanation of *Pannag*, which the Syriac renders *duchna*, the name of this grain. לחם פנג is used by the Jewish writers for sweetmeats. Cels. Hierob. 2, 73. They were probably made with honey.

[7] דבש, *dibs*, the inspissated juice of the grape, reduced to a syrup by boiling. It is still a frequent export from Palestine.

[8] Helbon, Aleppo, Χαλυβών, whose wine was so precious, that it was carried to Persia to be the beverage of the kings. Strabo, 15, 735.

[9] In the common version, "Dan and Javan going to and fro." But it is doubtful if מאוזל can bear this meaning, and cinnamon and

iron, cinnamon, and calamus were in thy marts. Dedan was thy dealer in clothing for chariot-horses[1]. Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar[2], were the markets of thy hand in lambs, and rams, and goats; in them were they thy merchants. The merchants of Sheba and Raamah[3] were thy merchants; with the choicest of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold, they furnished thy markets. Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad[4], were thy merchants. They were thy merchants in precious things, in mantles of violet, and embroidery, and in chests of rich clothing, bound with cords, and made of cedar, in thy market."

The prophet beautifully represents Tyre, the mistress of the sea, and herself seated amidst its waters, under the emblem of a ship, the wealth, luxury and strength of the city being symbolized by the solid construction and lavish decoration of one of its own gallies. It is probable that on state occasions, when the sovereign passed between the continent and the island, he was conveyed in a vessel adorned with

calamus could not be brought to Tyre by Jews of the tribe of Dan, or by Greeks. Bochart suggested the reading followed in the text. Uzal (Gen. 10, 27) is Sannaa, the metropolis of Arabia Felix (Mich. Spic. Geog. 2, 164), and Javan is distinguished by this addition from Javan meaning Greece. Michaelis, u. s., reads ודן, not "Dan also," but Vadan, which he takes to be an unknown region of southern Arabia. Others read *Dedan*.

[1] Probably the rich housings with which chariot-horses are adorned, both in the Egyptian paintings and Assyrian bas-reliefs.

[2] Is. 60, 7.

[3] Sheba, the Sabæa of the ancients (Strabo, 16, 768), the central district of Arabia whence came incense, myrrh, spices, and gold, either produced there or obtained by commerce with India and Africa. Raama is Ῥεγαμά, on the western coast of the Persian Gulf (Ptol. Geog. 6, 7, p. 405, ed. Wilberg).

[4] Haran appears to be the district of Charræ, in Mesopotamia (Plin. 12, 17 (40)), where Abraham sojourned, a celebrated mart; Eden (2 Kings, 19, 12), Adiabene; Canna is uncertain, and in its stead Calneh (Ctesiphon) has been proposed. Chilmad may be Χαρμάνδη (Xen. An. 1, 5, 10, πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη), on the left bank of the Euphrates.

the greatest splendour, such as those in which the solemn processions on the Nile were made, and which Cleopatra imitated in her voyage on the Cydnus. The masts of cedar, the oars of oak, the row-benches of box inlaid with ivory, the sails of fine linen, and the awning of purple would be inappropriate to a sea-going vessel, but suitable to a galley of state, and beautifully emblematic of Tyre itself. The prophet indeed soon drops the allegory, and speaks of the city and its commerce in direct terms; but having finished his description, he reverts to the emblem of the ship in the 26th verse, "Thy rowers have brought thee into deep waters; the east wind hath broken thee in the midst of the seas[1]."

Directly or indirectly, the commerce of Tyre, in the beginning of the sixth century before Christ, thus embraced the whole known world. By means of the Arabian and the Persian gulfs it communicated with India, and the coast of Africa towards the equator. On the north its vessels found their way along the Euxine to the frozen borders of Scythia. Beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, its ships, or those of its colony of Gades, visited the British isles for tin, if they did not penetrate into the Baltic to bring back amber. Ezekiel says nothing of the voyages of the Tyrians in the Atlantic ocean, which lay beyond the limits of Jewish geography; but it is probable that they had several centuries before passed the limits of the Desert on the

[1] "O navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus! O, quid agis? fortiter occupa
Portum. Nonne vides ut
Nudum remigio latus,
Et malus celeri saucius Africo,
Antennæque gemant?"—Hor. Od. 1, 14.

Imitating an allegory of Alcæus, a native of the maritime Mytilene.

western coast of Africa, and by the discovery of one of the Canaries had given rise to the Greek fable of the Islands of the Blessed. Their commerce divides itself, according to the prophet's survey, into five different branches. Beginning with Tarshish as the most remote, he returns to it in the conclusion. We may more conveniently follow the geographical order.

I. It is doubtful whether the Phœnicians ever possessed any harbour on the Red Sea, where the Idumæans occupied the Ælanitic Gulf[1]. Direct communication with this sea was not essential to their commerce, since various tribes who lived upon or near it, Midianites, Sabæans, Nabathæans, Edomites, had occupied themselves from time immemorial with the transport of merchandise across the Desert to the Mediterranean. Tyre was the emporium to which the East brought its wares, that its fleets might distribute them over the West. The caravans from Arabia Felix came to Leuke Come on the coast of the Red Sea, a little to the south of the Ælanitic Gulf, on their way to Petra, the rock-city[2] of the Edomites. Its actual remains belong to the Roman times; but the great highways of commerce in the East are marked out by nature, and have been the same in all ages. The early devotion of the Edomites to barter and commerce is perhaps indicated in the narrative of their progenitor Esau selling his birthright for a mess of pottage. To Petra the productions and manufactures of the countries on the Persian Gulf, or its imports from India, were brought from Gerrha and Minæa on the eastern coast of Arabia[3]. From Petra

[1] Heeren, Ideen, 1, 2, p. 65.

[2] The סלע of the Hebrew Scriptures, 2 Kings, 14, 7. Is. 16, 1.

[3] Arrian's Periplus by Vincent, 2, 260.

they were conveyed in Strabo's time to Rhinocolura, on the confines of Egypt and Palestine, and thence to Alexandria[1]. Before the foundation of that city they had been distributed to all parts of the world from Rhinocolura, which was then in the possession of the Tyrians; and still earlier, probably, from the towns called by Herodotus the Arabian emporia, on the sea-coast of Philistia[2], Gaza, Ascalon, and Azotus.

Among the various articles which Tyre obtained by its commerce on the Erythræan Sea, some were the produce of Arabia, as spices and precious stones[3]. Sabæa is the native country of myrrh and frankincense. Gold was certainly brought from thence[4], and its rivers washed down golden sands[5]; but as yet no mines of this metal have been discovered within the Arabian peninsula, the interior of which, however, is very imperfectly known. The gold and silver of other nations flowed into Arabia to purchase the products of their happy climate and soil, but, like India and China, it did not give them back in exchange[6]. The houses of the Sabæans were full of the most costly gold and silver vessels and furniture; their doors, walls and roofs were inlaid with ivory, gold, and precious stones. The reputation of their riches induced the Romans, in the time of Augustus, to send an expedition against them[7], hoping to possess themselves of their yet untouched treasures. The coast of

[1] Strabo, 781.
[2] Herod. 3, 5. Heeren, 2, 109, Eng. Tr.
[3] Strabo, 779.
[4] Ps. 72, 15.
[5] Strabo, 16, 777. It was found also in what we now call *nuggets*, *οὐ ψήγματος ἀλλὰ βωλαρίων χρυσοῦ, μέγεθος ἐχόντων ἐλαχίστον μὲν πυρῆνος, μέσον δὲ μεσπίλου, μέγιστον δὲ καρύου*. The Sabæans strung them on linen threads alternately with pellucid stones, and wore them round their necks and wrists. Diod. Sic. 2, 50.
[6] Strabo, 16, 780.
[7] Hor. Od. 1, 29. Dio, 53, 29.

Africa to the south of the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb, now the Somâli country[1], produced frankincense and spices superior in quality to those of Arabia, whose inhabitants, crossing the strait on floats[2] without rudder or oar, carried on traffic with Ethiopia. The Phœnicians had no doubt passed this strait, and traded along the coast with what the ancients called the spice-bearing region. Cassia and cinnamon, according to their testimony, grew both in Arabia and in Africa; they are closely allied, the cinnamon being the more valuable[3]. When India became known to the Romans, it was ascertained that Ceylon produced a cinnamon far superior to any other, and modern botanists distinguish it as the only true cinnamon. But that of which we read in Scripture and Herodotus was no doubt the Arabian or African, which, till a better was known, was esteemed as the most precious of the spices. The same remark applies to the *calamus aromaticus*; though found in the highest perfection in India, it grew abundantly in Arabia, according to the testimony of the ancients[4], and had thence become known, as well as cinnamon, to the Jews even in the days of Moses[5].

Other products of India probably formed a part of the merchandise of Phœnicia. If Dedan (ver. 12) were

[1] See the Dissertation of Mr. Cooley, Journ. of Geogr. Soc. 19, 166, 22, cxiii.

[2] Plin. 12, 41. Herod. 3, 111. His Arabia seems in this passage to be the eastern coast of Ethiopia.

[3] The question can hardly be said to be settled, whether cinnamon and cassia are the product of trees of distinct species, or whether cinnamon is only the finer, and cassia the coarser bark of the same tree (*Laurus Cassia*). The cinnamon which Pliny describes (12,42), as sold in Ethiopia for 1050 denarii the pound, appears to have been the extremity of the branches. Comp. Vincent, 2, 702. Beckmann ad Ant. Caryst. c. 49.

[4] Celsius Hierob. 2, 328.

[5] Exod. 30, 23.

the island of Daden in the Persian Gulf, the ivory and the ebony which its caravans brought must have come from India. The cotton garments, mentioned in verse 16, may have been the fabrics of India[1], whence the growth and manufacture were only transferred in a later time to Egypt[2]. The "bright iron," which came from the same regions as cassia and calamus, can hardly have been anything else than Indian steel. Arabia was so destitute of this metal, that the Nabathæans gave twice its weight in gold for it[3]; and at the present day, though iron-mines are said to exist, the natives can only fabricate the coarsest instruments. India abounds in mines of iron[4], which were wrought in very remote times. The Damascus blades, so celebrated in the middle ages, were made of it[5]; it was imported into the Roman Empire; and the Indian steel, known by the name of *wootz*, excels all others. Considering the wealth of India in all those productions, which, whether for use or luxury, have most attracted the desires of other nations, it is highly improbable that in the sixth century before Christ, they should not have found their way across the short interval which separates the coast of Scinde from the Persian Gulf, and we may therefore safely reckon India among the countries which furnished merchandise to the markets of Tyre[6].

[1] Her. 7, 65. 3, 47, 106.

[2] Plin. 19, 1. Jul. Poll. 7, 75. Pliny, however, mentions cotton as growing on the islands of the Persian Gulf, and their fabric as even finer than those of India. 12, 21.

[3] Agatharchides, quoted by Bochart, 2, 27. Diodorus says they exchanged equal quantities of gold for brass and iron. 3, 45.

[4] Ritter, Geogr. 5, 528. From his index it appears that iron is found in India from Ceylon to Nepaul.

[5] Michael. Spic. 2, 173.

[6] I have expressed my doubts (Anc. Egypt under the Pharaohs, 2, 405) respecting the circumnavigation of Africa from the Red Sea by the Phœnicians. Mr. Grote

II. Egypt is only mentioned by Ezekiel as the land from which Tyre derived its embroidered linen[2]; but Isaiah in his prophecy (23, 3) describes her as drawing supplies of corn from the harvests which the inundations of the Nile enabled the Egyptians to raise. That an active trade was carried on between the two countries is evident from what Herodotus says, that the commencement of Phœnician commerce was the transport of the wares of Egypt and Assyria. Wine we know, from the same source, was annually imported from Palestine into Egypt, and its spices must have been in request in a country so luxurious, and so abounding in temples. The asphalt of the Dead Sea[1] was needed, no less than the fragrant gums and resins of Syria, for the practice of embalmment. The Tyrians had a settlement at Memphis, in which they lived apart from the Egyptians, and observed the rites of their national worship. The date of its establishment is uncertain, but as Herodotus (2, 154) says that the Greeks were the first foreigners who were settled in Egypt, it was probably not earlier than the reign of Psammitichus.

III. Another great branch of the Tyrian commerce was that carried on with Mesopotamia and Syria. Many of the products of India and Arabia might arrive on the coast of Phœnicia by these channels. The same nomadic tribes, whose caravans turned westward from Petra, to Egypt and the Mediterranean, continued their course northward, through the countries east of the Dead Sea and the Jordan, to Damascus.

believes—Niebuhr (Lect. Anc. Hist. 1, 118) doubts. "Magno se judice quisque tuetur."

[1] Diod. 19, 99

[2] Martial, 14, 150 —
"......Victa est
Pectine Niliaco jam Babylonis acus."

We know little of this route in early ages, but the magnificent ruins of cities which have been discovered in these regions indicate that in the Greek and Roman times it was the channel of an active and valuable commerce. If the true reading of verse 16 be Edom, and not Aram, the Idumæans brought along with the emeralds and the corals of the Red Sea, the agates and cotton fabrics of India; if they came to Tyre from the markets of Syria, they must have been previously brought thither by Arabian caravans, or by the navigation of the Tigris and Euphrates from the Persian Gulf. To facilitate communication by this channel with eastern Arabia and India, Nebuchadnezzar founded Teredon, near the site of the present Bussora, and fortified it against the attacks of the marauding Arabs of the vicinity[1]; but a harbour had no doubt existed on the united stream, and been used for the same purpose long before. The deposition of alluvium in the lower course of the Euphrates and Tigris is extraordinarily rapid, and the head of the Persian Gulf was in ancient times far to the north of its present position[2]. The embankments which Nebuchadnezzar made to check the inroads of the sea would aid the formation of alluvial soil. Babylonia is called by Ezekiel a land of traffic, and Babylon a city of merchants[3]. It had communication by a canal with the Tigris and the cities of Assyria on its banks, and with Susiana. Solomon had built Tadmor in the

[1] Euseb. Præp. 9, 41. Strabo, 16, 766.

[2] Journ. of Roy. Geog. Soc. 1851, p. lxxix.

[3] Ezek. 17, 4. In Isaiah, 43, 14, the Chaldæans are said to "exult in their ships" (Bp. Lowth). They were probably only designed for river navigation, the country having no ship-timber but the cypress. The commentary of Vitringa is, "scaphas, celoces, naves ad commoda et delicias Babyloniorum in Euphrate fluvio captandas."

Desert (Palmyra), in order that his subjects might participate in this gainful traffic. Besides the oriental products and manufactures which might be brought by this channel, Babylon, and the other cities of Chaldæa, Mesopotamia and Assyria had many manufactures of their own with which to furnish the markets of Tyre. Babylon was celebrated for its many-coloured embroideries[1]. Nineveh while it flourished had been a great seat of trade[2]. The "goodly garments of Shinar" had found their way into Palestine at the time of its conquest by the Israelites, and were secreted along with wedges of gold and silver as the most valuable portion of the spoil of Ai[3]. That the manufactures of Ashur and Chilmad were of extraordinary beauty and value, may be inferred from the care with which they were packed in chests of cedar for security against moths, and for their preservation in a suitable repository[4]. Damascus exchanged the wine of Aleppo and the fine wool of the plains of Mesopotamia, one of the most favourable regions for the multiplication of sheep and the production of wool[5], against the manufactures of Tyre. By an easy route, travelled since the commencement of history, Damascus communicated with the southern part of Phœnicia. The narrow though not unproductive country

[1] "Colores diversos picturæ intexere Babylon maxime celebravit." Plin. H. N. 8, 48 (74). The eagle which represents Babylon in Ezekiel's parable (17, 3) is said to have "wings of embroidery."

[2] Nahum, 3, 16. "Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven."

[3] Josh. 7, 21.

[4] Hence the epithet κηώεις, "fragrant," applied in Homer to the chambers in which garments were kept. Il. ζ', 288.

[5] See the patriarchal history in the Book of Genesis. Damascus was probably the mart also to which the wool produced in the country east of Jordan (2 Kings, 3, 4) was brought for sale. Jerome (Comm. ad Ezech. 27) and Pliny (8, 48 (75)) attest the abundant growth of wool in Syria.

of Tyre could not support the population which commerce had accumulated there; but the possessors of wealth can command supplies even from remote regions. It was the practice of the Phœnician sovereigns to send out fleets to purchase corn from distant countries[1]. Judæa, which was close at hand, furnished them with the finest of her wheat and the other choice products of the land, grape-honey and oil and balm. The pastoral nations of Arabia brought flocks of sheep and goats from their distant desert-pastures to the same great mart, where they were needed both for food and sacrifice.

IV. From an equally remote region the inhabitants of Armenia[2] brought their troops of riding and chariot horses and mules to the markets of Phœnicia, which, like Palestine, was very unsuited to their production. In the reign of Solomon, Egypt seems to have been the source whence it was supplied with horses[3]. Solomon not only maintained a large number of chariot-horses, but traded in them with the Syrians, the Canaanite princes, and probably the Phœnicians of Cyprus[4]. But the power and prosperity of Egypt had declined during the Ethiopian conquest, and after the change of government under Sethos; and the statement of Herodotus, that since the time of

[1] Serv. Æn. 1, 39. Acts, 12, 20, the Tyrians and Sidonians were in haste to pacify Herod, because their supplies of corn were drawn from his territory of Galilee.

[2] Togarmah was supposed by Bochart (Geog. S. 3, 11) to be Cappadocia, which was celebrated for its breed of horses and mules (Solinus, cap. 45. Strabo, 11, p. 553). But from Ezek. 38, 6, it appears to have been a country lying more directly north than Cappadocia from the place of the prophet's exile. Armenia was, however, separated from Cappadocia only by the Euphrates, and was equally celebrated with Media for its breed of horses. Strabo, 11, 525.

[3] 1 Kings, 11, 28. The Chronicler (2 Chr. 9, 28) adds, "they brought unto Solomon horses *out of all lands.*"

[4] See p. 71, note [2].

Sesostris the country had become unfit for the use of chariots or cavalry[1], is at least a proof that in his own time they had long ceased to be employed there. As a naval power Tyre had not much use for cavalry or chariots, but no doubt splendid equipages were among the objects of luxury in which her princes and merchants indulged. From nearly the same region she was supplied with slaves. The countries bordering on the southern and eastern shores of the Euxine, Tibarenia and Moschia, nearly answering in ancient times to Georgia and Circassia at present, were inhabited by a race whose form and complexion caused them to bear a high price in the slave-marts of more southern nations[2]. They may have been brought to Tyre either by Phœnician vessels, or by the Greeks who had long navigated these seas, joining piracy with commerce; or they may have travelled overland from the Euxine to Cilicia, by an easy journey of five days[3]. The northern coasts of the same sea were also a great nursery of slaves, whose Greek names were derived either from their barbarous tribes or those of Asia Minor[4]. As the Phœnicians purchased slaves from the Greeks, so they kidnapped the Jews to sell to them, and are threatened by the prophets with the vengeance of Jehovah for this outrage upon his people[5]. Jewish slaves were also among the objects by which the maritime powers of Palestine obtained the products of Arabia from the Edomites and Sabæans[6].

[1] 2, 108.

[2] Τὸ τῶν εἰς δουλείαν ἀγομένων σωμάτων πλῆθος οἱ κατὰ τὸν Πόντον ἡμῖν τόποι παρασκευάζουσι δαψιλέστατον καὶ χρησιμώτατον ὁμολογουμένως. Polyb. 4, 38.

[3] Herod. 2, 34.

[4] Strabo, p. 304.

[5] Joel, 3, 6. Amos, 1, 9.

[6] Joel, 3, 9. Amos, 1, 6.

Armenia, or the countries on the south-eastern coast of the Euxine, inhabited by the Tibareni and Mossynœci, produced copper of excellent quality. David took a great quantity of brass from the king of Zobah in northern Mesopotamia[1]. Copper as well as lead is found among the hills which skirt the Euphrates on the north and west—the Sophene and Melitene of the Greeks and Romans. According to the author of the treatise *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, which passes under the name of Aristotle, the brass made among the Mossynœci had a brilliant whiteness, surpassing every other. It was not mixed, like the bronze, with tin, but with cadmia or calamine, an ore found in the same country[2]. The inventor of this particular combination was said never to have revealed his secret, and in the time of Aristotle, the art of making it being lost in those regions, ancient specimens were highly valued, as they could not be imitated. This *orichalcum*, as the ancients called it, to distinguish it from bronze, may have been the metal which was brought to the mart of Tyre; it was prized in proportion as by its whiteness it approached the splendour of silver[3]. The vessels spoken of by the prophet may, however, have been of ordinary brass. The copper of Armenia and the adjacent countries is manufactured at Erzeroum and Tocat into utensils, and carried not only over all the Turkish empire, but into Persia and Tartary[4]. It is remarkable that no mention is made of the iron of this region, which was inhabited by the

[1] See 2 Sam. 8, 8.

[2] "Cadmea terra quæ in æs conjicitur ut fiat oreichalcum." Festus, lib. 3.

[3] Virg. Æn. 12, 87. Plin. H. N. 34, 2. Pateræ and other instruments made of this metal have been found in Herculaneum. Winckelm. Mon. Ined. 2, 172.

[4] See p. 91, note [2].

Chalybes, the reputed inventors of the manufacture[1]; but Phœnicia itself furnishes an ore of iron[2]. Spain possesses inexhaustible mines of first-rate quality, and we have already seen that steel was imported from India. The prophet speaks only of intercourse by land between Tyre and the countries at the eastern extremity of the Euxine; but no doubt Phœnician vessels traded on these coasts, as we know they did in later times. Setting out, as soon as the season allowed of navigation, from Tyre, Cyprus, or Cilicia, they proceeded along the shores of Ionia, calling at the principal commercial settlements, and collecting those articles which suited the markets of the Euxine, especially the wines of Peparethus and Cos, Thasos and Menda[3].

Besides the traffic in slaves and vessels of brass which the prophet indicates, the Phœnicians had a great source of gain in the tunny fishery, which was carried on upon these shores. Bred in the sluggish and weedy waters of the Palus Mæotis, the young fish issued forth and took their course along the southern shore of the Euxine, where great numbers of them were caught and salted. At the Straits the shoals left the Asiatic shore and crossed over to Byzantium, which was enriched by the produce of the fishery[4]. The Phœnicians, who supplied the markets of Athens with the salted tunnies from the western parts of the Mediterranean, would not be likely to neglect the fisheries of the Euxine and Byzantium.

[1] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2, 375.

[2] See p. 37.

[3] Demosth. c. Lacr. p. 935. The vessel in question belonged to Phaselis.

[4] Θύννων δ' ὡραίων Βυζάντιον ἔπλετο μητήρ. Athen. 3, p. 116. Polyb. 4, 38. Strabo, 7, p. 320. Chalcedon, on the Asiatic coast, was called "the city of the blind," because its founders hadoverlooked the advantage which Byzantium enjoyed from the tunny fishery.

One of the sepulchral monuments in the Phœnician language found at Athens is to a woman of Byzantium. This and the other Phœnician inscriptions cannot with any probability be referred to the immigration of the Gephyræans, who were descended from the followers of Cadmus[1]; they are of too late an age, and indicate either a commercial settlement there of sufficient importance to have its own worship and its own cemetery, or at least a very frequent resort of Phœnician merchants. The most decisive proof, however, of the great extent of the commercial intercourse of Phœnicia with Greece, is to be found in the circumstance that the Greek names of all the principal objects of oriental commerce, especially spices and perfumes, are Phœnician. The same remark applies to those musical instruments which were not national to the Greeks, but introduced from Asia[2]. In the time of Socrates the Piræus was regularly visited by a Phœnician ship, which was the wonder of the Athenians for the excellence of its arrangements and discipline. Herodotus had observed, probably at Athens, that where the Phœnicians had much intercourse with Greeks, they laid aside their national practice of circumcision[3]. The evidences of Phœnician intercourse

[1] Her. 5, 57.

[2] Herodotus (3, 111) observes of the cinnamon, *κάρφεα τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κιννάμωμον καλέομεν*. Movers (ap. Ersch et Gruber, 358) mentions upwards of thirty instances of spices, precious stones, textile fabrics, musical instruments, and vegetable productions, whose Greek names are borrowed from the Hebrew or Phœnician

[3] Her. 2, 104. Hesychius says, *Φοίνικες· γένος τὶ Ἀθήνησιν·* and Dinarchus wrote an oration on occasion of a dispute between the Phalereans and the Phœnicians, respecting the priesthood of Neptune. They had probably therefore their quarter in the neighbourhood of the harbour. From Demosth. Phorm. p. 908, one of these appears to have been a money-lender in the Piræus His

in the historical times with the Grecian coasts and islands, are few; we might have expected to find them in Cythera, where they had established the worship of their great goddess the Venus Urania[1], and which derived the name of Porphyris from the abundance of the shell-fish which the Phœnicians sought on the coasts of Greece[2]. In Sicily and Sardinia, in Malta and Gozo, in Pantellaria and the Balearic Islands, we have either direct testimony of their commercial visits, or the evidence of existing monuments[3]. It is true that the age of these is generally uncertain, and there is sometimes a doubt whether they originated from the Phœnicians of Asia, or the Carthaginians. But the foundation of Gades by the Tyrians twelve centuries before Christ, is one of the best-attested facts of such ancient date; and if it does not imply a previous knowledge of these intermediate resting-places, it must have been speedily followed by the discovery of them.

V. Tartessus was the source whence Phœnicia derived its chief metallic riches, "silver, iron, tin and lead," none of which except iron are found in the mountains of Syria. The mineral wealth of the south of Spain is celebrated in many passages of the Greek and Roman writers. It was here that, according to the fable[4], the art of reducing metallic ores by fire was first discovered, the conflagration of the forests having melted the veins of gold and silver which lay exposed on the surface. Strabo condemns the rhetoric of

name was Theodorus, but the Phœnician settlers in Athens translated their names into Greek. See p. 172.

[1] Her. 1, 105. Paus. 1, 14.

[2] Steph. Byz. s. v. Κύθηρα.

[3] Gesen. Mon Pun. lib. 2, c. 1. Judas, lib. 3, c. 13–18.

[4] Lucretius, 5, 1255. Strabo, 3, 147.

Posidonius, who had said that every mountain and hill of Spain was a heap of coin, piled up by the bounty of Fortune; but he himself pronounces that gold, silver, copper and iron are nowhere found in such abundance as in Turdetania and the adjacent region. The enumeration of the prophet is more characteristical and exact than that of the Greek authors. The peninsula did undoubtedly produce gold; it was not, however, the rivers of Andalusia, but the Tagus and its tributaries, that washed down sands and lumps of gold[1]; and Pliny says that Lusitania, Asturias and Gallicia were the gold-producing regions of Iberia[2]. The mountains of Andalusia and the adjacent province of Murcia, on the other hand, were the most productive of silver of any region in the Old World[3]; and the transport of this metal would be the more profitable to those who first brought it into the East, from its rarity as compared with gold, not being found in Africa or Arabia, or the southern regions of Asia. Silver, as currency, is not mentioned in the patriarchal history, except in Abraham's dealings with the Palestinian Hittites (Gen. 23, 15); it was still scarce in the time of Joseph, who was sold for twenty shekels; but in the reign of Darius it was so much more common, that the tribute of all the satrapies, except India and Ethiopia, was paid in this metal[4]. The descriptions of the abundance and consequent low estimation of the precious metals, especially silver, at Tartessus, resemble those of the discovery of Mexico and Peru.

[1] Strabo, 3, p. 153. Juvenal, 3, 55. Ovid, Met. 2, 251.

[2] H. N. 33, 4 (21). These districts produced to the Romans annually 20,000 pounds of gold.

[3] The mountain Orospeda (now Sierra Segura), whence the Guadalquivir rises, was called Mons Argentarius, and Aletes, the discoverer of the silver-mine, was worshiped as a hero. Polyb. 10, 10.

[4] Herod. 3, 89 seq.

For the oil and other products of little value with which they had laden their vessels, the Phœnicians received so much silver that they were unable to carry it, and at last cut off the masses of lead which had served them as anchors, and substituted silver in its place[1]. The ordinary drinking-vessels of the inhabitants were of this metal[2]. The Greeks, who by accident found their way to Tartessus, notwithstanding the jealousy of the Phœnicians, as Colæus the Samian, and the people of Phocæa, returned enriched[3] by their voyage. Notwithstanding the long export of silver from these mines by the Phœnicians, who drew from them the wealth by which they founded so many powerful colonies[4], the Carthaginians, who succeeded the Phœnicians in their possession, derived from them the revenues by which they were enabled to pay their mercenary armies. Even in the Roman times 40,000 men were employed as miners within a circuit of 400 stadia near Carthagena, and the workings yielded a revenue to the republic of 20,500 drachmas daily[5].

The lead which Tarshish furnished to Tyre was probably in part derived from the same mines as the silver, these two metals being very commonly found united in the ore called *galena*. In the time of Polybius the lead was separated from the silver by melting, after repeated washings to remove the earthy matter. But Spain produced also great quantities of lead, either pure or with an inappreciable mixture of silver. Besides the lead-mines of Oviedo in the north, Pliny mentions several in Bætica, and one in Capraria

1 Arist. de Mir. Ausc. 147. Diod. 5, 35.
2 Strabo, 3, 151.
3 Herod. 1, 163; 4, 152.
4 Diod. 5, 38.
5 Polyb. 34, v. c. 9. Strabo, 3, 148.

(Cabrera), a small island near Majorca[1]. Iron, another of the products of Tarshish, abounded in Spain, and was of excellent quality. Strabo[2] speaks of very productive iron-mines on the coast of Valencia, near Cape S. Martin, which from them took the name of Ferraria; but the principal deposit of iron-ore was on the northern coast, where a mountain of great height (the Sierra de Aralar, near Bilboa) was wholly composed of it[3]. The waters of some of the Spanish rivers, as the Ebro, and the Xalon, one of its tributaries, were supposed to have a peculiar virtue in tempering steel; the sword-blades of Bilbilis (Calatayud) and Turiasso (Tarazona in New Castile) were as celebrated in the Roman times as those of Bilboa and Toledo have since become[4]. The Celtiberian steel, prepared by burying in damp ground, was of such temper, that, according to the expression of Diodorus[5], neither shield, nor helmet, nor bone, could withstand its edge.

Tin is the most remarkable of all the metallic products which Phœnicia obtained from Tarshish, because it is found in so few parts of the world. Only three countries are known to contain any considerable quantities of it; Spain and Portugal; Cornwall and the adjacent part of Devonshire; and the islands of Junk-Ceylon and Banca, in the Straits of Malacca[6]. It is so soft a metal that of itself it is of little use; but it readily combines with others, and particularly with copper, giving it the hardness which is needed

[1] H. N. 34, 17. [2] 3, 159. Mela, 2, 6. [3] Pliny, 34, 15 (43).

[4] "Saevo Bilbilin optimam metallo
Quae vincit Chalybas Noricosque."
Martial, 4, 55.

[5] 5, 33. [6] Ritter's Indien, 5, 77. 438.

for tools and instruments of war. As it is easily fusible, and in all the countries in which it has been found appears on the surface, in fragments derived from the detritus of primitive rocks, it would be early discovered and employed. Bronze, which is one of the oldest of the alloys of copper we are acquainted with, contains about ten or twelve per cent. of tin[1]; and it is remarkable that nearly the same proportions result from the analysis of the bronze instruments found in the sepulchral barrows of Europe, of the nails which fastened the plates with which the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ was covered[2], of the instruments contained in the tombs of ancient Egypt, and the tools of the Mexicans and Peruvians[3].

That tin should have been brought into the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, from the remote islands of the Straits of Malacca, at the very early age at which its use is ascertained, is highly improbable. No such traffic is ever alluded to by ancient writers; so far from India furnishing the West with tin, we find in the Periplus of Arrian that it was one of the articles exported from the Red Sea to India[4]. The only plausible argument in favour of this opinion is, that in Sanscrit tin is called *Kastira*, and this is supposed to be the original of *Kassiteros*. But as India derived tin from Arabia by commerce, it is surely

[1] Monge, Mém. de l'Inst. 5, 187.

[2] Sir William Gell's Argolis, p. 33, pl. 7.

[3] Humboldt, Researches, 1, p. 260. In the mirrors of the Etruscan tombs the proportion of tin is sometimes as high as 24 or even 30 per cent. See a note by Dr. Francis in Beckmann's H. I. 2, 64.

[4] "Tin is mentioned as an import into Africa, Arabia, Scinde, and the coast of Malabar." Vinc. Per. 2, 716, art. Κασσίτερος. "Tin is called in India *Javaneshta*, incense *Javana*, and pepper *Javanaprina*" (Ritter, 5, 441). These names are probably derived from the Arabian people, Javan, Ezech. 27, 19 (see p. 194, note[9]), from whom the home-keeping Indians received these articles.

more probable that the name was brought thence along with the commodity; and *Kastira* is the Arabic name for tin, used also for pewter, just as copper, bronze, and brass are all confounded by the Greeks under the name Χαλκός. The name Cassiteros occurs first in Homer; it appears to have no Greek etymology, and has not been found in the remains of the Phœnician language. The Hebrew word for it is *Bedil*, signifying what is separated, specifically the impurity of argentiferous lead[1]. From the resemblance of this substance, when melted, to tin, the Latin word *stannum*, which properly denotes the product of the first melting[2], has passed into the modern languages instead of the *cassiteros* of the Greeks. The appropriate Latin name for tin was *plumbum album*.

There can be no doubt that tin was anciently found in Spain and in its southern regions. The Guadalquivir brought down stream-tin[3], and, according to Festus Avienus, the mountain in which this river rose was called Cassius from Cassiteros, and Argentarius from the brilliancy of the tin which it produced[4]. The

[1] Isaiah. 1, 25.

[2] Pliny, 34, 16 (47). "Plumbum nigrum cum argento nascitur mixtisque venis conflatur. Ejus qui primus fluit in fornacibus liquor stannum appellatur." Stannum was also used for an artificial compound of tin and lead, our *pewter*. Plin. ibid.

[3] Eust. ad Dion. Perieg. 337. Τὸν Ταρτησὸν ποταμὸν κασσίτερον τοῖς ἐκεῖ καταφέρειν ἱστόρηται.

[4] "Genitrix hæc ora metalli
Albentis stanni venas vomit."
Fest. Avien. Descr. Orb. 741.

"Sic a vetustis dictus a specie sui,
Stanno iste namque latera plurimo nitet."

"Amnis autem fluctibus stanni gravis
Ramenta volvit."—F. Av. Or. Mar. 291. 296.

Pliny, 4, 34. "Omnis dicta regio (south of the Douro) metallis referta, auri, argenti, ferri, *plumbi nigri albique*."

mines of the south of Spain have been much neglected since the discovery of America, with the exception of the quicksilver-mines of Almaden, and therefore it would be unreasonable to call these precise statements in question, because tin is not now known to be found there. With regard to the north-western provinces of the peninsula, there can be no doubt that tin anciently abounded in them. Posidonius, quoted by Strabo, says that in the land of the Artabrians, the most remote in the north-west, the soil glitters with silver, tin, and white gold[1]. The tin was stream-tin, and no mines of it appear to have been worked in Spain. The account given by Pliny is the same[2]: "Tin, it is now well ascertained, is produced in Lusitania and Gallæcia, sometimes of a black colour on the surface of the sandy soil, and distinguishable only by weight" (peroxide of tin), "sometimes in minute pebbles in the bed of dried torrents" (stream-tin), "which are collected, washed, and fused in furnaces. It is also sometimes found in gold-mines, and separated by washing in baskets, and subsequent melting." The geological structure of Gallicia and the adjacent part of Portugal is very similar to that of the metalliferous country of Cornwall; and as many as seven different localities, in which tin has been procured, are enumerated in a recent work on the geology of the former country[3]. Spain is reckoned among the countries from which tin is exported by many modern

[1] Strabo, 3, 147. Diodorus (5, 38) repeats the account of Posidonius. The recently discovered tin of Australia is mixed with gold. Tinstone and gold occur together in Great Britain. See Murchison, Siluria, ch. 17.

[2] Plin. 34, 16 (47).

[3] Schulz, Descripcion Geognostica di Galicia, p. 45. 47. The name of Borraco di Stanno, in the neighbourhood of Viseu, in Portugal, indicates the working of a tin-mine.

writers, and considerable quantities of Portuguese tin are occasionally brought to London.

We can have no hesitation, therefore, in regarding Spain as the source of the tin which was so early in use among the nations bordering on the Mediterranean. How long it was before the Phœnicians discovered the far richer supply which the British Islands afford, is altogether uncertain. After their establishment at Gadeira, no doubt they would soon explore the coasts of Portugal and northern Spain; but we lose sight of their progress entirely through the long space which separates that coast from the Scilly Islands and Cornwall. We hear nothing of their trading on the Gallic shores of the Bay of Biscay, along which we might have conceived them to have crept, till a short navigation would bring them to the western extremity of Britain. But it is more probable that they reached the Cassiterides by a direct course. They seem to have become known only as islands lying in the depth of the ocean, and in no relation to Britain or Gaul[1].

Herodotus[2] knows nothing of the northern parts of Europe beyond the reported existence of the Cassiterides and a river which supplied amber. These islands are described, even by Strabo[3], as lying deep in the sea, northward from the port of the Artabrians; following in this, no doubt, the descriptions of authors who lived before the Romans became acquainted with the navigation. Avienus, who had the Voyage of Himilco before him[4], also speaks of them, under the name of

[1] Diodorus (5, 38) describes them as τὰς προκειμένας ἐν τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ νησίδας.

[2] 3, 115.

[3] 3, p. 175.

[4] Or. Mar. 117. 412.

Œstrymnides, as lying in a vast gulf, stretching from Œstrymnis, or Cape Finisterre[1]. Publius L. Crassus, who conquered the north-west of Spain about a hundred years B.C., was the first who showed the Romans the way to the Cassiterides. The Tartessians[2], that is, the Phœnician colonists of Gadeira and Bætica, traded hither probably before the Carthaginians; but we may doubt whether vessels from Tyre ever made so long a voyage. Tarshish was their emporium. Midacritus is said to have been the first who brought tin from Cassiteris, but we know nothing more of him than his name[3].

That by the Cassiterides, or Œstrymnides, the ancients meant the Scilly Islands is highly probable, because, though they do not in all points correspond with their description, no others answer so well; and in all attempts to identify ancient with modern geography we find difficulties arising from vague language and inaccurate knowledge. The following is the account of them given by Avienus[4]:—"Beneath this promontory" (Cape Finisterre) "spreads the vast Œstrymnian gulf, in which rise out of the sea the

[1] His description of this promontory (Or. Mar. 93), "Tota in tepentem maxime vergit Notum," shows that he means Cape Finisterre, which runs to the south.

[2] Avien. O. M. 114.

"Tartessiisque in terminos Œstrymnidum
Negotiandi mos erat; Carthaginis
Etiam colonis; et vulgus, inter Herculis
Agitans columnas, hæc adibant æquora."

[3] The name (Plin. 7, 56) may be an invented one from μύδος and κρίνω, to denote the separation of the ore by washing. Of the substitution of ι for υ see Maittaire, Gr. Ling. Dial. p. 410, ed. Reitz. Many of the names in Pliny's catalogue of inventors are evidently fictitious, as Closter, the inventor of the spindle; Pyrodes, of the tinder-box; Staphylus, of wine and water; Copæ and Plateæ, Bœotian towns, are reckoned inventors of the oar, because one denotes the handle, and the other the blade of that instrument.

[4] Or. Mar. 96.

islands Œstrymnides, scattered with wide intervals, rich in metal of tin and lead. The people are proud, clever and active, and all engaged in incessant cares of commerce. They furrow the wide rough strait, and the ocean abounding in sea-monsters, with a new species of boat. For they know not how to frame keels with pine or maple, as others use, nor to construct their curved barks with fir; but, strange to tell, they always equip their vessels with skins joined together, and often traverse the salt sea in a hide of leather. It is two days' sail from hence to the Sacred Island, as the ancients called it, which spreads a wide space of turf in the midst of the waters, and is inhabited by the Hibernian people. Near to this again is the broad island of Albion." The latter part is derived from some other authority than that of Himilco; but in his account we recognize the coracle, the characteristic boat of Britain, navigating the stormy sea between the Land's End and the Scilly Islands. Pliny[1] describes the coracle still more exactly, as made of wickerwork, round which leather was sewed. Boats of similar construction are still used on the west coast of Ireland, and can live in seas which would be fatal to craft of more solid materials. It is true, that in the Scilly Islands tin is not now worked; and according to Borlase, the ancient workings were neither numerous nor deep[2]. But even had they produced no tin, it was exactly accordant with the policy of the Phœnicians, as we

[1] 4, 16 (30). "Timæus historicus a Britannia introrsus sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit insulam Mictim (leg. Ictim) in qua candidum plumbum proveniat; ad eam Britannos vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare."

[2] Borlase's Cornwall, p. 30. "Tin is found in several of the Scilly Islands, and in some lead and copper." Lysons' Cornwall, p. 337.

have elsewhere become acquainted with it, to take possession of islands near a coast with which they had to carry on trade, securing themselves by this means against any sudden attack, and holding in their hands the power of arrival and departure. An island might naturally be described as rich in tin and lead, which was the emporium of a district so productive of these metals as Cornwall. We can trace the progress of more accurate knowledge respecting them. Strabo[1], apparently following Posidonius, says, "The Cassiterides are ten in number; one of them is uninhabited; the rest are inhabited by men *clad in dark garments*, reaching to their feet, and bound round the waist with a girdle; they carry a staff in their hands, *and resemble the Furies in a tragedy*. They live chiefly by their flocks, but they have also mines of tin and lead, and exchange these and their hides for pottery, salt, and articles of brass, with the merchants. Formerly the Phœnicians of Gadeira exclusively possessed this trade, and concealed the way hither from all others." He then relates the story of the master who ran his ship upon the rocks, and proceeds: "The Romans, however, discovered the way by sea, after repeated attempts. But when P. Crassus crossed over to those islands, and found that the metals were procured from a shallow depth, and that the people were peaceable and navigated the sea for their amusement, he showed the voyage to every one who wished it, though it is

[1] Strabo, 3, p. 175. What had been fabled of the islands Electrides, τοὺς μελανείμονας οὓς φασι τὰς ἐσθῆτας εἰσέτι νῦν φορεῖν τοιαύτας ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Φαέθοντα πένθους καὶ πᾶσαν δὴ τὴν τραγικὴν καὶ ταύτῃ προσεοικυῖαν ὕλην (Polyb. 2, 16), seems to have been transferred to the Cassiterides.

longer than the passage to Britain." We see here that something of the ancient mystery still hung about these islands; and Strabo, though he wrote after the Roman conquest of Britain, has not availed himself of the more recent and accurate accounts of the trade preserved by Diodorus, who says[1], "I will speak of the tin which is produced in Britain. Those who live about Belerium, the promontory of Britain, are remarkably hospitable, having been civilized by their intercourse with foreign merchants. They prepare the tin, skilfully working the ground which produces it. It is rocky, but has earthy veins, from which they extract the product and purify it by melting. Having cast it into regular blocks, they carry it into a certain island which lies off the coast of Britain, and is called Ictis. At the ebb-tide the intervening space is dry, and tin in large quantities is brought over in carts .... Here the merchants purchase it from the natives, and carry it into Gaul; and finally, by a journey of thirty days on horseback, it is conveyed to the mouth of the river Rhone." In this passage the true site of the tin-mines is described; they are found chiefly in the south-western corner of Cornwall, in Gwennap, Polgooth and Redruth[2]; and the island which at low water is joined to the mainland can be no other than St. Michael's Mount[3], which was excellently adapted from this circumstance to be the place of trade between foreign dealers and the inhabitants of the continent. Some of the principal tin-mines are in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount's Bay[4]. As the Phœnicians made

[1] Diod. 5, 22.

[2] Lysons' Cornwall, ccvi.

[3] Such an island was Cerne on the African coast, a great emporium of Phœnician and Carthaginian trade, διαβατὸς ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου. Her. 4, 195.

[4] From a similarity of sound,

no settlements in Britain, and merely anchored their vessels first at the Scilly Islands, and afterwards at Mount's Bay, returning at the close of summer to the south of Spain, it is not wonderful that no inscriptions or monuments of any kind attest their presence or their influence in our island[1]. It is, however, by no means improbable that the tin which came originally from Cornwall may have returned thither from Gaul or Spain, in the form of those instruments of bronze[2] which are some of the earliest of our British antiquities in metal.

In his enumeration of the articles of Phœnician commerce, the prophet does not mention amber, a substance which indeed is never named in the Hebrew Scriptures[3]. Probably it became known at a much later period than tin. It has not been found in the ancient sepulchres of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, though of frequent occurrence in those of Etruria and Southern Italy. A chain of amber beads, connected by strips of gold, has been found in a sepulchre at Cære, answering very exactly to the Homeric de-

Vectis (the Isle of Wight) has been supposed to be the Ictis of Diodorus; but it can never have been joined at low water to Hampshire in the Roman times; nor would it be at all a convenient market for the tin of Cornwall. Pliny (4, 16 (30)) places Vectis between England and Ireland, and Timæus (see p. 218, note [1]), probably misunderstanding Pytheas, has transferred Ictis to the site of Thule. "Six days' sail" is the distance from Britain at which Pytheas placed Thule (Plin. 2, 75 (77)), and the *introrsus* of Pliny (4, 16 (30)) means, on the eastern side of Britain, as Pytheas certainly navigated the German ocean.

[1] Since the publication of Mr. Petrie's work on the Round Towers of Ireland, it is presumed no one will attribute them to the Phœnicians.

[2] Χαλκώματα (Strabo, 3, 175) is a word of very comprehensive application.

[3] חשמל, Ezek. 1, 4, 27; 8, 2, rendered by the Seventy ἤλεκτρον, and by our translators *amber*, is generally understood to be the bright metal, *electrum*, a mixture of gold and silver. Od. δ, 73. Plin. 33, 4 (23).

scription[1]. It has been doubted, however, whether the *electrum*, of which the Phœnicians are described as making necklaces in this passage, was amber, or the metal *electrum*; nor is the question easy to decide[2]. At the present day the southern coasts of the Baltic chiefly supply the rest of the world with amber, and Herodotus speaks of it[3] as if in his time the north of Europe were its only known source. Having remarked that the extreme parts of Asia and Africa produced the choicest things,—Asia, spices; Africa, gold, ivory, ebony, and the tallest, handsomest and most long-lived men, he proceeds: "But concerning the western extremities of Europe, I cannot speak with accuracy; for I do not admit that any river is called Eridanos by barbarians, issuing into the northern sea, from which the story is that the amber comes; nor do I know that the islands Cassiterides exist, from which the tin comes to us; for in the first place, the very name Eridanos shows that it is Greek, and not barbaric, but invented by some poet; and in the next place, though I have taken pains with the matter, I have never been able to hear from any one who had been an eye-witness, that the parts beyond Europe are sea." It is evident that in his time the north and north-west of Europe were the reputed source whence tin and amber were brought: what Herodotus doubted was, whether there were such islands as the Cassiterides, and a river called

[1] Abeken, Mitt. und Unt. Ital. p. 271. 281. Hom. Od. ο', 460.

[2] Buttmann in his Mythologus, and Müller (Etrusker, 1, 284) understand ἤλεκτρον when used in the plural in Homer, as amber. Pliny, however (9, 40. 65), uses *electra* for the metal; and it appears from Cant. 1, 11, "I will make thee a necklace of gold with studs of silver," that the precious metals were mixed in female ornaments. *Our* taste would certainly decide for amber. The attractive power of amber was known to Thales. Diog. Laert. 1, 24.

[3] Her. 3, 115.

Eridanus, from the banks of which amber came. The joint mention of them has led to the conclusion that they both came to the Mediterranean nations by the same means, the Phœnician traders; but this inference is not certain, nor was the Baltic the only source whence amber may have been originally obtained.

Though amber does not occur in the western parts of Britain, it is found in gravel near the eastern coast, and is washed up by the tides on the opposite shores of Holland and the North Sea; and besides this source, which would yield only inferior specimens, such as are found in our ancient sepulchres, it may have been brought to Britain in very early times by ships from the Baltic. Its origin in the islands of a sea in the north-west of Europe, a rumour only, which Herodotus could not verify, was ascertained by the voyage of Pytheas (about 300 B.C.), who says that it was found among the Guttones, a people bordering on Germany, on an estuary[1] of the ocean; that there was an island, named Abulus, distant hence one day's sail, on which it was thrown up by the waves of the sea. This island was named Basileia by Pytheas, and Baltia by Xenophon of Lampsacus. By the Romans it was called Glessaria, from the word *gles* (glass), by which the natives designated the amber[2]. The name Eridanus appears in the Theogony of Hesiod[3], and according to Hyginus, he knew also the fable of the conversion of the tears of Phaethon's sisters into amber[4].

[1] The Baltic might be said to have estuaries, though it is without tides. See Plin. 3, 26 (30), where it is used of the mouths of rivers in the Adriatic.

[2] Plin. 37, 11 (2). He enumerates various parts of the world in which amber was found. Brocchi (Giornale, 3, 113, 247) speaks of its being found in Lebanon.

[3] Theog. 338.

[4] Hygin. 154. He probably took this account, not from any lost poem of Hesiod, but from the

The name Eridanus, however, appears not to have been originally geographical, but mythical, and consequently to have been variously localized. Chares said that Phaethon had fallen in Ethiopia, at the temple of Hammon, and that amber was produced there[1]. Pherecydes was the first who made the Po to be the Eridanus. Æschylus transferred the name, along with the fable of the Heliades, the sisters of Phaethon[2], to the Rhone. By the general consent of later authors, however, the Po was considered as the Eridanus; islands called Electrides were fabled to exist at its mouth, and as the poplar is the characteristic tree of the country, it was supposed to produce amber from its exudations. This opinion was favoured by the abundance of amber[3] in the countries at the head of the Adriatic; not however being produced there, but brought, even before the Roman conquest of Pannonia, by an inland traffic from the shores of the Baltic[4], and the source of that which is found in Italian tombs. The fable of the fall of Phaethon, and the origin of amber from the tears of his sisters, may have been the more readily referred to the mouth of the Rhone, because a species of amber was found on the coast of Liguria, and thence called Ligurium[5] or Lincurium, a name which gave occasion to idle fables respecting its

work on astronomy attributed to him. Athen. 11, 491. Galleria di Firenze, 4, 2, 198.

[1] Plin. u. s.

[2] From the fragments of the Heliades (Hermann, Op. 3, 134), it appears, however, that Æschylus still made the Eridanus flow into the Adriatic.

[3] Pliny, 37, 3(11). "Pado annexæ fabulæ videtur causa, hodieque Transpadanorum agrestibus feminis monilium vice succina gestantibus."

[4] Solinus, c. 20. "Hanc speciem barbari in Illyricum intulerunt; quæ cum per Pannonica commercia usu ad Transpadanos homines foret devoluta, quod ibi primum nostri viderunt, ibi etiam natam putaverunt."

[5] Strabo, 4, 202. Jos. B. J. 5, 5.

origin. In Strabo's time it was largely imported into Britain from Gaul[1]. It is called by some authors a stone[2], but it was certainly a resinous substance, as it attracted straws. When it had been ascertained that the shores of the Baltic were the native country of the true amber, the story of Phaethon's sisters and the name Eridanus were transferred thither[3].

We have mentioned the tunny fishery on the shores of the Euxine as a source of gain to the Phœnicians; it was carried on also by the people of Tartessus, and the figure of this fish appears on the coins of Gades. (See Pl. II.) In the waters of the Atlantic, four days' sail from Gades[4], the marine plants on which they feed grew to unusual size, and the tunnies and conger-eels of this coast were delicacies sought after in Athens and Carthage—the latter city, after she obtained possession of the south of Spain, forbidding their export to any other place[5]. The Tyrians had a market for fish in Jerusalem (Nehemiah, 13, 16), probably salted fish. Nature had furnished Spain both with mines of rock-salt[6] and saline springs, the produce of which, besides yielding salt for exportation, as we have seen in the account of the Cassiterides, was employed in pickling and salting fish[7]. From the mackerel (scomber), the people of Carteia prepared a sauce which was so highly valued, that it sold at the price of the choicest perfume[8].

[1] Strabo, p. 200.

[2] Theophr. de Lapid. p. 395.

[3] Paus. 1, 3. A river Rodaune is said to fall into the Vistula near Dantzig, but the coincidence is probably accidental. Larch. ad Her. 3, 15.

[4] Arist. de Mir. Ausc. 148. This cannot therefore have been the Mar di Sargasso, which is 100 miles westward of the Azores. Humboldt, Cosm. 2, 653. Transl.

[5] Aristot. de Mir. Ausc. u. s.

[6] Cato, writing from Spain, says, "Sunt in his regionibus ferrariæ, argenti fodinæ pulcherrimæ, mons ex sale mero magnus." Gell. 2, 22. It was at Cardona in Catalonia. Strabo, 3, 144.

[7] See p. 219.

[8] Plin. 31, 43.

VI. When we endeavour to follow the traces of Phœnician commerce beyond the Straits, along the northern and western coast of Africa, we find increasing difficulty in discriminating what belongs to Phœnicia itself or its colonies in southern Spain, and what to the Carthaginians. But we have seen reason to conclude[1] that their settlements abounded on the coast of Mauritania, before the expedition of Hanno, and therefore we can have little hesitation in referring to the Phœnicians the following account from the Periplus of Scylax[2]. Speaking of the island of Cerne, he says, "The merchants are Phœnicians[3]. When they have arrived at Cerne, they anchor their merchant ships there and pitch tents, and unloading their cargo convey it in smaller boats to the mainland. Those with whom they deal are Ethiopians; they sell to the Phœnicians skins of deer, lions, panthers and domestic cattle, elephants' skins and teeth. The Ethiopians use ornamentally-worked garments, and ivory cups as drinking vessels; their women adorn themselves with ivory bracelets; and their horses also are adorned with ivory. The Phœnicians bring them ointment, Egyptian alabaster[4], castrated swine, Attic pottery and cups. The fictile wares are bought at the Feast of Cups[5].

[1] See p. 135.

[2] § 111. The age of Scylax is doubtful. If he were the Scylax of Caryanda, mentioned by Herodotus (4, 44), he lived in the reign of Darius Hystaspis. Niebuhr, however, has given good reasons for thinking that he lived in the first part of the reign of Philip of Macedon; consequently while Phœnicia was flourishing in its nominal dependence on Persia. Phil. Mus. 1, 262.

[3] Scylax elsewhere distinguishes the Carthaginians by their own name. § 110.

[4] Vases of ointment, hermetically closed. Mark, 14, 3.

[5] On the day of the Feast of Cups (Χόες) at Athens, which was the second of the Ἀνθεστήρια, every man drank out of a separate cup. Potter, 1, 367. As they were probably never used again, the Phœnicians might purchase them cheap for the African market.

These Ethiopians are eaters of flesh and drinkers of milk; they make also much wine from the vine[1]; the Phœnicians too bring some wine to them. They have also a large city, to which the Phœnician merchants sail up." This river was probably the Senegal, in N. L. 16°, to the south of the Great Desert, and therefore in the true land of the Ethiopians. To this remote point, the Phœnicians brought a cargo which included the wine of their own country, the unguents of Egypt, and the pottery of Athens. It is remarkable that gold is not mentioned among the articles of commerce, which appears from Herodotus to have been principally exchanged by the Carthaginians in dumb barter, with the natives of the African coast, and to have been collected from the mud of a lake in the island of Cerne, or as he calls it Kuraunis[2].

VII. Diodorus, speaking of the discoveries of the Phœnicians (whom he clearly distinguishes from the Carthaginians), says that as they sailed along the coast of Africa beyond the Columns of Hercules, they were driven westward into the Ocean, and after many days' sail reached an island, of which he has left a glowing description. It was partly mountainous and partly level. The level portion was watered by navigable rivers, and was adorned with splendid buildings, parks and gardens, with every variety of trees, in which the inhabitants made their summer abodes. The mountains were covered with forests, and abounded with wild animals for the chase; the waters of the ocean were full of fish. In short, such was the purity

[1] Movers (Ersch u. Gruber, art. Phönizien, p. 366) remarks, that as the vine is not a native of Africa, its culture had probably been introduced by the Phœnicians.

[2] 4, 197. 195.

and salubrity of the air, the temperature of the climate, and the abundance of all sources of enjoyment, that it seemed the appropriate habitation of gods rather than of men[1]. Some of the circumstances here mentioned would suit any of the groups of islands off the African coast—the Azores, Madeira, the Canary or the Cape de Verd Islands; while others are due to a poetical imagination. But it is evident that they are the same as the Greeks called Islands of the Blessed, and the Latins the Fortunate Islands[2], and these we know to have been the Canaries, the principal of them having the name Canaria, from the large breed of dogs which it produced. Ferro, the most westerly of them, is the first meridian of Ptolemy, and therefore, we may presume, the limit of accurate knowledge to the West in his age. So little had been accomplished by the Romans for the extension of the geography of the Atlantic, since the decline of the maritime power of Phœnicia and Carthage! The name of Purpurariæ, given to some islands off the coast of Mauritania, suggests that they might have been frequented by the Phœnicians for the collection of the shell-fish *purpura*. They are said, however, to have been discovered by Juba[3], who esta-

[1] Diod. 5, 19.

[2] Plin. 4, 22. "Insulæ Deorum sex, quas aliqui Fortunatas appellavere." The Canaries are seven in number. The Nivaria of Pliny (6, 32 (37)) is evidently Teneriffe, the summit of which rises far above the line of perpetual snow.

[3] Pliny, 6, 31. "Nec Mauritaniæ insularum certior fama est, paucas modo constat ex adverso Autololum *a Juba repertas*, in quibus Gætulicam purpuram tingere instituerat." If Autolala be the modern Ajulon, it is nearly opposite to the Canaries, but in that case Juba can only have been their rediscoverer; nor could he be correct in distinguishing them from the Fortunate Islands. The island Αὐτόλαλα ἢ καὶ Ἥρας of Ptolemy (4, 6) seems to have been the same as Junonia, one of the Fortunate islands, though he distinguishes them.

blished there a manufactory of purple. If we receive his description of them as lying 625 miles from the Fortunate Islands, they cannot be, as D'Anville supposed, Lancerota and Fuenteventura, the two nearest of the Canaries to the African continent. Still greater difficulties, however, exist in supposing them to be Madeira and Porto Santo[1], which are too remote from Juba's kingdom of Mauritania to be the seat of a manufacture of purple carried on by him. Pliny confesses the uncertainty of his own information respecting the islands on the Mauritanian coast; and as his various accounts are irreconcileable with each other and with geography, it will perhaps be safest to consider the Purpurariæ as a portion of the larger group which the ancients call the Fortunate Islands, and the moderns the Canaries. They are only about 170 miles from the coast, and from its highest points the peak of Teneriffe may be discovered[2].

The arithmetical system of the Phœnicians was in its principles the same as that of the Egyptians[3]; the units, from 1 to 9 inclusive, are denoted by simple strokes; 10 by a separate mark, either a horizontal line or a semicircle; 20 by a character resembling the letter N; 100 has also a special mark with which the strokes for the units are joined to denote additional hundreds[4]. The system will be better understood by a reference to Plate II. at the end of the volume. The hundred is sometimes expressed by the word מאת written fully or abbreviated. The marks for these higher numbers may have originated from letters

[1] Hard. ad Plin. u. s.

[2] Humboldt, Cosmos, 2, 497. Transl.

[3] Anc. Egypt under the Pharaohs, 1, 344.

[4] Gesenius, Mon. Phœn. l. 1, c. 6.

of the alphabet, which it is the more probable that the Phœnicians should have used, as they were employed, to the exclusion of conventional marks, by the Greeks and Hebrews. The Etruscans and Romans, like the Phœnicians, used strokes for the digits, and specific characters for some of the higher numbers.

The system of weights and measures in use in Phœnicia was nearly the same as that of the Jews. The *Cor*, which in the later books of Scripture answers to the *Chomer* of the Pentateuch, was a Phœnician measure, of the capacity of ten Attic metretæ[1]. From the occurrence of the mina, which is not an Egyptian, but a Semitic word, among the hieroglyphic characters of Egypt, it has been inferred that the system of weights of which the mina is a part originated in Babylon, and was adopted by the Egyptians[2]. It should, however, be observed, that the characters read MN in hieroglyphics, and supposed to stand for MiNa, are accompanied by a vase, and therefore seem to denote a measure of liquid, not a weight. The primary meaning of the word, which is common to the Semitic languages, is to *number* or *divide*, and in this sense it is found in the earliest remains of the Hebrew language (Gen. 13, 16). The substantive is first used as a pound weight in the account of Solomon's golden shields, when Jerusalem was in close connexion with Tyre[3]. The *shekel* also[4], the denomi-

[1] Böckh, Metrologische Untersuchungen, p. 259. The Metretes, according to Arbuthnot, was equal to 10¼ gallons.

[2] Böckh, u. s. p. 39. The Greek form *μνάα* or *μνᾶ* seems to be derived from the Chaldee מנא, Dan. 5, 26, but as the word has not yet been found in any Phœnician monument, we do not know whether their spelling corresponded with the Chaldee or with the Hebrew מנה.

[3] 1 Kings, 10, 17.

[4] שקל "to weigh." The word is not found in the tablet of Marseilles,

nation below the mina, is derived from a Hebrew root, and is found in Scripture (Gen. 24, 22) before we can suppose any influence from Babylon The same is true of the *kikkar* or talent[1], the weight next above the mina. It must remain doubtful, therefore, whether the astronomers of Babylon, or the merchants of Sidon and Tyre introduced the metrological system which Böckh has shown to have been so extensively used in the ancient world. The probability is, that it was at least introduced into the West by the Phœnicians; and the appellation of Babylonian talent appears not to have become current among the Greeks till after Darius had made it the standard according to which the Asiatic states paid their tribute of silver[2].

Among the antiquities disinterred in Assyria are a set of bronze weights in the form of lions, ranging from 40 lbs. 5 dwts. to 10 oz. 14 dwts., and having both cuneiform and Phœnician inscriptions[3]. They indicate the existence of a common traffic between the nations; but the letters have not been deciphered with any certainty, so as to throw light on the metrology of either.

No coined money of the Phœnician cities is extant prior to the time of their subjection to the Greeks. In this they agree with the Egyptians and the Jews. The standard of the Tyrian coinage appears to have been the same as the Jewish, the shekel being equal to the Attic tetradrachm[4], and the *zuz* to a drachma or denarius.

but כסף, "silver," is used with an ellipsis of shekel, as in Hebrew; and as *aureus* in Latin with an ellipsis of *denarius*.

[1] כּכּר "to be round as a cake." So the Greeks called gold bullion φθοῖδες, cakes. Böckh, p. 51. Jos. Ant. 3, 6, 7.

[2] Herod. 3, 89.

[3] Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 601.

[4] Jos. Bell. Jud. 2, 21, 2. Böckh,

Besides carrying on commerce on a large scale, in fleets and caravans, the Phœnicians appear to have traversed the interior of Syria and Palestine, as itinerant merchants, retailing the goods which they had imported or manufactured, from house to house, and purchasing in the same way the productions of domestic industry, for retail in other markets. Of the virtuous woman, described in the Book of Proverbs (31, 24), it is said, "She maketh fine linen and selleth it; she delivereth girdles to the Canaanite[1]." This name of Canaanite is almost exclusively applied to such itinerant dealers, and like *pedlar* among ourselves, it acquired a depreciatory sense, as implying meanness if not fraud. "Ephraim," says the prophet Hosea (12, 7), "is a Canaanite; the balances of deceit are in his hand." Isaiah (23, 8) appears to use it in a nobler sense,—"Tyre, the city that dispenseth crowns, whose merchants are princes, whose Canaanites are the honoured of the land;" but really to exalt the idea of Tyrian commerce, which conferred wealth and rank even on those who engaged in its humblest branches. This retail dealing may often have been carried on by descendents of the dispossessed Canaanites, who finding themselves, like the Jews in modern times, excluded from the possession of land, naturally betook themselves to the lower kinds of trade.

u. s. p. 68. At this time, however, the tetradrachm had been reduced greatly below its original weight of 328·8 Par. gr. Böckh, p. 63. The greatest weight of a genuine Jewish shekel is 271·75 Par. gr.

[1] In the older books of Scripture, *Canaanite* is used only of the nation, and its occurrence, Job, 41, 6 (40, 30 Heb.), in the sense of merchant, is a presumption against the high antiquity sometimes attributed to that book.

CHAPTER VII.

NAVIGATION.

THE navigation of the Persian Gulf, the original abode of the Phœnicians, is said to have been carried on by rafts alone, in which they passed from island to island[1]; but when they settled on the coast of Syria, and began distant voyages[2], they must have constructed ships of more regular architecture. Lebanon afforded them inexhaustible supplies of timber; Cyprus, of all the materials necessary for fitting up a ship, from the keel to the sails[3]. Besides their war-gallies of triremes, which were probably a late invention, as they were only introduced into Greece about 700 B.C.[4], they employed in their commercial voyages the pentecontor of fifty oars, long in build, and adapted for rapid sailing or rowing[5]; and the *gaulos* or round ship, fitted for stowage, but slow in sailing[6], and therefore probably used chiefly as a tender to a trireme, and for short or coasting voyages. Sidon, the oldest of the Phœnician cities, appears to have enjoyed the highest reputation for naval skill[7]. Of the form, or tonnage, or rigging of their vessels, we know nothing,

[1] Plin. 7, 56 (57).

[2] Her. 1, 1.

[3] See p. 75.

[4] Thucyd. 1, 13, says they were built at Corinth first *in Greece*.

[5] See what Herod. 1, 163, says of the navigation of the Phocæans.

[6] Herod. 3, 136. It took its name from its resemblance to a milk-pail. The root is the Hebrew גלל, volvere, whence גל, Zech. 4, 2, the globular reservoir of oil in a lamp.

[7] Eust. ad Dion. Perieg. 907, *ναυτικώτατοι Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι.*

as we have neither coins of any high antiquity, nor sculptures nor paintings; but their internal arrangement was admirable, and like our East Indiamen in former times, and the Spanish galleons, they were equipped for war as well as for trade. In the Œconomicus of Xenophon (ch. 8), Ischomachus, discoursing on the advantages of order, says: "The best and most accurate arrangement of things I think I ever saw, was when I went to look at the great Phœnician ship[1]. For I saw the greatest quantity of tackling separately disposed in the smallest stowage. You know that a ship comes to anchor or gets under way by means of many wooden instruments and many ropes, and sails by means of many sails, and is armed with many machines against hostile vessels, and carries about with it many arms for the crew, and all the apparatus which men use in a dwelling-house, for each mess. Besides all this, the vessel is filled with cargo which the owner carries for his profit. And all that I have mentioned lay in not much greater space than would be found in a chamber large enough conveniently to hold ten beds. All things too lay in such a way that they did not obstruct one another, so that they needed no one to seek them, could easily be got together, and there were no knots to be untied, and cause delay if they were suddenly wanted for use. I found the mate of the steersman, who is called the prow's man, so well acquainted with the place of each article, that even when absent he could tell where

[1] From the use of the definite article, it would seem as if a large Phœnician vessel had annually visited Athens. Heliodorus (5, 18) describes a Phœnician merchant-man as *εἰς κάλλος τε ἅμα καὶ μέγεθος αἰρόμενον ἐκπεπονημένη*. Isaiah (2, 16) speaks of "the ships of Tarshish and their beauty to the sight."

everything lay, and what their number was, as one who has learnt to read could tell the number and order of the letters in the name of Socrates. I saw this man examining, at an unoccupied time, everything that is of use on board a ship; and on my asking him the reason, he replied, Stranger, I am examining whether anything is deficient or out of order; for it will be no time to look for what is wanting, or put to rights what is awkwardly placed, when a storm arises at sea[1]." As Athens was at this time the first naval power in Greece, this appeal to a foreign vessel as an example of the benefit of order, shows that the Phœnicians excelled all other maritime nations in the internal discipline of their ships. Such as that here described, we may suppose those "ships of Tarshish" to have been, which in their distant voyage required to be adapted at once to navigation, freight, and defence. Of the details of their equipment the only circumstance preserved to us is, that they carried on their prow figures called by the Greeks Patæci, resembling the pigmy images of the Egyptian Ptah, and perhaps deriving their name from him[2]. The most important peculiarity in their navigation, however, was, that while the Greeks and Romans long continued to direct their course at night by the Great Bear, the Phœnicians early discovered that the Cynosure, the last star in the constellation of the Little Bear, being nearly identical in position with the pole, afforded them by its unchangeableness

[1] Xen. Opusc. ed. Schneider, p. 50.

[2] They are thought to be represented on a coin of Ascalon, on the prow of a war-galley, under the form of two *Hermæ*, wearing the pileus of the Cabiri or Dioscuri. Eckhel, D. N. 3, 444.

the means of ascertaining the true north, whenever the heavens were visible[1]. The Phœnicians were not the first cultivators of astronomy; in this the Egyptians and Babylonians preceded them[2]; but they applied it practically to navigation, combining with it the art of calculation, so necessary in reckoning a ship's course[3]. Practice was with them the parent of science. The knowledge which enabled Thales the Milesian to predict solar eclipses was probably derived from Phœnicia as well as Egypt; for he was a Phœnician by descent, and had studied in Egypt[4]. Foreign geography must have originated with Phœnician navigators. In their voyages and settlements beyond the Straits, they had observed the oceanic tides, which are unknown in the Mediterranean. The general connexion of the moon with spring and neap tides they had pretty accurately ascertained at Gadeira; but if rightly reported by Posidonius and Strabo[5], they were in error in regard to the influence of the sun, as they made the spring tides to be highest at the summer solstice; the fact being, that from the greater proximity of the sun to the earth in winter, the spring-tides are then the highest.

[1] "Septem illam stellæ certantes lumine signant,
Qua duce per fluctus Graiæ dant vela carinæ.
Angusto Cynosura brevis torquetur in orbe,
Quam spatio tam luce minor: sed judice vincit
Majorem Tyrio."—Manilius, 1, 304.

The Little Bear was called Phœnice from this circumstance. The discovery is attributed to Thales, by Hygin. Poet. Astron. ii. 2. Callim. Frag. 94, ed. Blomf.

[2] Eust. ad Dion. Perieg. 905.

[3] Σιδόνιοι—φιλόσοφοι πέρί τε ἀστρονομίαν καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν, ἀπὸ τῆς λογιστικῆς ἀρξάμενοι καὶ τῆς νυκτιπλοίας· ἐμπορικὸν γὰρ καὶ ναυκληρικὸν ἑκάτερον. Strabo, 757. Ἀριθμητική here evidently stands for the science of numbers, which had its origin from the art of reckoning (λογιστική), as geometry from land-surveying.

[4] Herod. 1, 171. Diog. L. Thales.

[5] Strabo, 1, 173.

CHAPTER VIII.

MANUFACTURES AND ARTS.

AMONG the manufactures of Phœnicia none enjoyed so high a reputation in the ancient world as that of the PURPLE DYE prepared from the shell-fish of its coast. It is remarkable, however, that this manufacture is not mentioned anywhere in the sacred writings in connexion with Tyre; and that in Ezekiel (27, 7) Greece is the country from which purple is said to come. The Jewish commentators indeed interpret the blessing on Zebulon (Deut. 33, 19), "Of the treasures hid in the sand shall they suck," as referring to the fishery of the Murex[1]; and if this be the true interpretation, the Israelites, at their settlement in Canaan, found the manufacture of the purple dye already established on the coast; which is not improbable, as it no doubt existed as a rude experimental practice long before the Tyrians raised it into an art. But we must not suppose that wherever purple is mentioned in Scripture, Tyrian *sea-purple* is meant. Arabia furnished a vegetable dye resembling the Tyrian purple[2]. The Egyptians cultivated indigo in very remote times; the use of henna to dye yellow, and madder, red, was also known to them; and they were most skilful dyers[3]. They made little use, however, of woollen garments, which were

[1] Boch. Hieroz. c. 9, p. 720.
[2] Steph. Byzant. 'Αβάσηνοι.
[3] Wilkinson, 3, 124. Minutoli, Reisen, 350.

forbidden in all religious ceremonies, and their cloaks were of undyed wool[1]. Among the Jews also "purple and fine linen" are generally connected. The more general use of woollen garments, required by the colder climate of Media, Persia, Greece and Rome, increased the demand for the Tyrian purple, which was applied to wool, perfected its manufacture, and enhanced its price. Babylon no doubt possessed the art of dyeing, and there is nothing in the names by which the purple[2] and hyacinthine[3] dyes are called in Hebrew, to fix them exclusively to Phœnicia. But there is no probability that in Egypt or in Babylon purple and hyacinth were dyed by means of an animal substance. The family of shell-fish which furnish it is not abundant in the Persian Gulf; nor are the muddy shores of Egypt suitable to them[4]. Even in Phœnicia, it was only on the rocky part of the coast, from the Tyrian Climax to Haifa near Mount Carmel, that they were found in perfection[5]. The unanimous voice of antiquity assigns to Tyre the discovery of the mode of obtaining two most beautiful tints of purple from the Buccinum and Murex, and its employment in dyeing wool.

The mollusks which inhabit these shells have a

[1] Her. 2, 81.

[2] ארגמן, purple, has been explained as if its first syllable were a transposition of ארם, Syria; but this is merely a conjecture; and it seems more naturally connected with ארג, to weave.

[3] תכלת, "blue" in our version, denotes "perfection," and therefore refers rather to the completeness of the process than either the colour or the material of the dye.

[4] "Lutense putri limo, et algense enutritum alga, vilissimum utrumque." Plin. 9, 37.

[5] Boch. Hieroz. c. 9, p. 724. Ἁλιπόρφυρος occurs in Homer, Od. ζ, 53; but its meaning, according to Eustathius, is doubtful. Τὰ ὁμοιὰ πορφυρούσῃ ἁλί· ἢ τὰ ἐκ θαλασσίας πορφύρας. The latter appears more probable, as the shores of Greece abounded with the shell-fish whence purple is made, and there would be little precision in comparing the colour of wool to the hue of the sea.

receptacle or sac behind the head[1], in which a very minute portion of a colourless creamy fluid is contained, which has a strong smell of garlic. If it be carefully extracted by a hook, or a pointed pencil, and applied to wool, linen, or cotton, which is then exposed to a strong light, it successively becomes green, blue, red, deep purple-red; and by washing in soap and water, a bright crimson, which is permanent. The Buccinum is found on rocks near the shore; the Purpura or Murex inhabits deeper water, and has been hence called *pelagia*; it has been dredged in twenty-five fathoms[2]. The Buccinum derives its name from the form of the shell, which has a wide opening like that of a trumpet, and appears, used for this purpose, in the hands of marine deities in ancient art. The Buccinum of Pliny is probably the *Buccinum lapillus*, or *Purpura lapillus* of modern naturalists; his *Purpura pelagia* their *Murex trunculus*[3]. The Murex has the same general form as the Buccinum; but the shell is more rough and spinous, and the word was used of anything stony and pointed[4]. The structure and habits of the Murex, its long tongue armed with silicious teeth, by which it pierces the shells of other conchylia and feeds on their flesh, correspond exactly with the description of the *Porphyra* by Aristotle in his History of Animals[5]. The

[1] See the figure of the mollusk of *Purpura lapillus* in Forbes and Hanley, Brit. Moll. v. 3. Pl. L L. 4, & p. 384.

[2] See note at the end of this chapter on the natural history of the Buccinum and Murex.

[3] Hence the Buccinum was called by the Greeks κῆρυξ, herald or cryer.

[4] Virg. Æn. 5, 205. Plin. H. N. 19, 1 (6). "Marcellus velis forum inumbravit ut salubrius litigantes consisterent; quantum mutatis moribus Catonis Censorii qui sternendum quoque forum muricibus censuerat!"

[5] Lib. 5, 13 (al. 15), 7.

Helix Ianthina, so called from the violet tint of its shell, is said to furnish a similar fluid to the Murex and Buccinum, and to be found abundantly on the Phœnician coast.

The property of the Muricidæ to furnish a purple dye was not a secret of the Phœnicians. It is applied to this use by the Chinese, and by inhabitants of the coast of South America[1]. Bede mentions its use by the ancient Britons[2]; and it was from hearing that it was still employed in Ireland, that Mr. Cole of Bristol, in 1684, was induced to make the first researches in modern times, and ascertained that the liquor was obtained from the *Buccinum lapillus*[3]. Nor was its skilful manufacture confined to Phœnicia. The coast of Laconia furnished a purple second only to that of Phœnicia; Tarentum, in later times Hydrus (Otranto), Ancona[4], the north coast of Africa, Gætulia, and the Canary Islands, are all mentioned as places in which it was carried on. In most of these we trace the influence of Phœnician colonization; Cythera, on the coast of Laconia, which bore the name of Porphyrusa[5], was one of their earliest settlements. Phœnicia, however, maintained the preeminence. It had the advantage of an inexhaustible supply of the shell-fish, furnishing the brightest dye, a brilliant sunlight, and probably some knowledge of chemistry, by which the native colour of the liquor was heightened. The most detailed account of the

[1] Gent. Mag. 23, 461. Schneider ad Arist. Hist. Anim. 5, 13.

[2] "Sunt cochleæ quibus tinctura coccinei coloris conficitur, cujus rubor pulcherrimus nullo unquam solis ardore, nulla valet pluviarum injuria pallescere, sed quo vetustior est eo solet esse venustior." Bede, Hist. Eccl. 1, 1.

[3] Phil. Trans. vol. 15, 1280.

[4] Sil. Ital. 8, 436.

[5] Steph. Byz. s. v. See p. 97.

process of manufacture which we possess is that of Pliny, in the ninth book of his Natural History[1].

The season for the capture of the Purpuræ was the early spring, and before they had parted with their eggs, in the vesicles of which, as Reaumur ascertained, the colouring fluid existed in even larger quantities than in the mature animal. A long rope was let down into the sea, to which were fastened at intervals baskets, constructed like those used at the present day, with openings into which the fish easily entered, but could not return, and baited with mussels or frogs, on which the Murex seized with avidity[2]. Being taken from the shell, the sac above mentioned was extracted, while the animal was yet alive, as the colouring-matter soon changed its quality after death; or, if killed, it was with a single blow[3], as protracted death injured the colour. The Buccinum being smaller, the sac was not extracted, but the body crushed with the shell, and both thrown in together. Salt, in the proportion of 20 ounces to 100 pounds, was then thrown upon it. After a maceration of three days, the pulp was placed in a vessel of lead (brass or iron being carefully avoided, lest these metals should communicate a tinge to the dye), and caused to simmer with a moderate heat, by a pipe brought from a distant furnace. The animal matter which adhered to the sac was removed by repeated skimmings, and at the end of ten days the liquor had become clear, being so reduced in bulk, that 100 amphoræ[4], or 8000 pounds,

[1] H. N. 9, 38 (62), Jul. Poll. 4, 45.

[2] *Λιχνότερα τῶν πορφυρῶν* was a proverbial expression (Athen. 3, p. 89) for greediness.

[3] Ælian, H. A. 16, 1.

[4] The amphora was rather less then 6 gallons, Imp.; the Roman pound = 11¼ ounces avoirdupois. Smith's Dict. of Ant.

of the pulp produced only 500 pounds of the dye. At this stage of the process the colour of the fluid should be dark rather than red[1]. Wool in the fleece, carefully washed, was then dipped into it, to ascertain its strength, and heat again applied till the due strength was attained. After five hours' steeping the wool was taken out and carded, and again steeped till it had imbibed as much of the dye as it could take up. Of the tints in which blue predominated, the amethyst was most esteemed, the Buccinum being then applied first; next to the amethyst, the heliotrope, the mallow, and the autumnal violet[2], produced without Buccinum. The colour most highly prized was a dark rich purple, of the colour of coagulated blood[3], but when held against the light showing a crimson hue. The dye obtained from the Buccinum was of inferior quality, and not permanent; 200 pounds of it were considered only equal to 111 of the other. In order to produce the Tyrian purple, the Buccinum was used last[4]; the dye of the Murex being necessary to render the colours fast, while the Buccinum enlivened by its tint of red the dark hue of the Murex. There was yet an inferior kind, called by Pliny *conchylium*, with which no Buccinum was used; the dye was more diluted, and ingredients were mixed with it[5], which aggravated the disagreeable odour that always adheres to an animal dye[6], and made

[1] "Rubens color nigrante deterior." Plin. u. s.

[2] Plin. H. N. 21, 8 (22).

[3] "Laus ei summa in colore sanguinis concreti." Plin. H. N. 9, 38. Hence in later authors the finest dye is called *blatta*, *θρόμβος αἵματος*, Gloss. Philox.

[4] "Tyrius pelagio primum satiatur; mox permutatur in buccino." Plin. u. s.

[5] "In conchyliata veste cætera eadem, sine buccino; præterque jus temperatur aqua et pro indiviso" (*i. e.* æquis utriusque portionibus. Hard.) "humani potus excremento." Plin. u. s. 39 (64).

[6] Pliny (9, 36) intimates the

Tyre, as Strabo complains, an unpleasant residence[1]. To produce the most costly colour, the cloth was twice dyed, and hence called *Dibaphon*[2].

The three principal tints were violet or amethyst, red, and purple, as we have described it above. The two latter passing into each other by insensible gradations, their names are vaguely used. Thus the garment put in mockery on our Saviour is called by Matthew scarlet; by the other evangelists, purple. As luxury at Rome went on increasing, the more expensive tints came into fashion. When Cornelius Nepos, who died in the reign of Augustus, was a young man, says Pliny, the violet-purple cloth was in vogue, a pound of which cost a hundred denarii; and not long after, the Tarentine red. To this succeeded the Tyrian Dibaphon, which could not be bought for a thousand denarii the pound. Lentulus Spinther (a contemporary of Cicero) was blamed for using it on his *toga prætexta*, even when Curule Ædile; in the days of Cornelius Nepos it was the common covering of the couches of the triclinium. In Pliny's time any other was very lightly esteemed. A commodity so precious was sure to be imitated in inferior materials, and vegetable dyes were employed instead of the Murex[3]. A mixture of the Tyrian dye with that of

unpleasant smell of the conchylium: "Virus *grave* in fuco." Martial (Epig. 4, 4) mentions the smell of Tyrian purple among the most abominable odours.

[1] Lib. 16, p. 757.

[2] Hor. Epod. 12, 21. "Lanæ Tyriis muricibus iteratæ." Cic. ad Att. 2, 9.

[3] Hor. Ep. 1, 10, 26.

........."Sidonio contendere callidus ostro
Nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum."

The inland town of Aquinum could scarcely have a manufactory of *sea-purple*. In later times, however, means seem to have been devised of preserving the colouring matter for several months, so that it could be transported to a distance from the sea, and a manufactory of purple was carried on at This (Abydos), in Upper Egypt. See note at the end of this chapter. The passage in Pliny (9, 40) relative to the

the *Coccus Ilicis* produced the colour called *hysginus*, which, from this combination with scarlet, seems to have been a dark crimson[1].

Such, so far as we can learn, was the process of manufacture of this celebrated dye, which sovereigns, priests, and senators appropriated to themselves, as at once the most costly and most beautiful with which their robes could be adorned, and by the art of making which, Tyre continued to be populous and wealthy when her colonies had cast off their dependence, her naval pre-eminence was lost, and her ancient fame had become a legend of mythical times. It is not probable, however, that the whole secret of the Tyrian art was disclosed. The ancients certainly knew the power of certain substances to act as mordants and fix colours[2], and the Tyrian dyers would hardly fail to employ them, though they are not mentioned by Pliny in his account of their process.

The discovery of the Tyrian dye was connected in the popular tradition with Tyre's tutelary deity, Hercules[3]. He was enamoured of a native nymph named Tyrus, and proceeding along the shore was followed, in heroic fashion, by his dog[4]. The dog finding a Murex on one of the rocks, with its head protruded from its shell, seized and devoured it, colouring his lips with the juice. When the nymph saw the beautiful tint, she refused the suit of Hercules, unless he would give her a garment of equal beauty. The hero

price of the Tyrian dye-stuff, appears to be corrupt.

[1] Plin. 9, 41 (65). The כרמיל of the Hebrews (2 Chron. 2, 7), which probably took its name from the *Kermes* or Coccus insect

[2] "Alga maris tingendis lanis ita colorem alligans ut elui postea non possit." Plin. 32, 22 (6). The coast of Crete produced the best.

[3] Jul. Poll. 1, 45. Nonnus, 40, 306.

[4] Od. β', 11. Æn. 8, 461. See Pl. II.

returned to the shore, collected a sufficient quantity of the juice, and dyed with it a garment which he presented to his mistress. The mention of Hercules refers the invention specially to Tyre, to which also historical accounts confine the manufacture; though the poets speak of Sidonian purple[1]. Homer celebrates the bronze and the embroidery of Sidon, but says nothing of its dye[2]. The name Φοῖνιξ, given by him to purple colour, is no proof that the dye of the Phœnician purpura is meant, as it is a Greek word, denoting the colour, and given by the Greeks to Phœnicia, not derived from it[3].

Extraordinary statements are found in the ancients respecting the durability of the best purple dye. When Alexander took possession of Susa, he found among its treasures 5000 talents in weight of purple cloth, from Hermione in the Peloponnesus, which had been laid up there for one hundred and eighty years, and yet retained all the freshness and brilliancy of its original colour[4]. Its durability no doubt enhanced its price, which, with the increase of luxury, became enormous, especially when it was applied to so costly a material as silk. At least as early as the time of Aristotle, who describes the silkworm (Hist. An. 5, 19), raw silk had been brought to the island of Cos, and there mixed with linen or cotton in producing those garments, whose fineness is celebrated by the Latin poets, and which were dyed of a deep purple[5]. Before the introduction of the

[1] Ovid, Trist. 4, 2, 28.

[2] Il. ζ′, 290. Od. ο′, 424.

[3] Allied to φοινός (Il. π′, 159), φοῖβος, φῶς. See page 68, note [3].

[4] Plutarch, Alex. c. 36. It was said to owe its durability and freshness to some use of honey in the process of dyeing.

[5] Hor. Od. 4, 13, 13. Lyd. Mag. 2, 13, from which passage it ap-

silkworm from the East by Justinian, silk had been sometimes worth its weight in gold. The costliness, however, of purple cloth did not prevent its being used by private persons, and the Roman emperors published edicts designed to confine it to official station[1]. Tiberius, finding the prohibitory decree of Augustus ineffectual, laid aside his own purple, that the Romans might be compelled to follow the fashion. Nero restricted the sale to a few ounces on each market-day; and having on one occasion, when he was exhibiting his own musical powers, perceived a matron among the audience clad in the forbidden colour, he not only sent his officers to turn her out, but seized the garment and confiscated all her goods. The law proved as vain as sumptuary laws usually are; and succeeding emperors not only conceded the liberty of using it, but themselves set up manufactories of purple in various parts of the empire. Tyre, however, still appears to have retained the exclusive manufacture of the imperial purple. The raw silk was brought to Tyre and Berytus by the Persian merchants, and there both dyed and woven into cloaks, linen and cotton being sometimes intermixed, and traders from all parts of the world resorted to these cities. Such was the sensitive jealousy of later emperors respecting the assumption of this emblem of their dominion, that by an edict of Theodosius, Gratian and Valentinian in the year 383, the dyeing or selling of purple by any

pears that the Parthians had the art of dyeing a red of peculiar brightness. In our Translation, silk appears in Ezek. 16, 10, but the original word משי only implies something drawn out to extreme tenuity.

[1] Flav. Vop. Aur. 45. The emperor refused to allow the empress a single cloak of purple silk, "pallio blatteo serico." Suet. Ner. 32.

private individual was forbidden under pain of death[1]. The law appears to have been evaded by imitating what was called the *sacred tint* by other dyes than the *murex*, and all such practices are again prohibited under pain of capital punishment; and this prohibition extended even to strips and edgings of purple cloth, which no subject was allowed to place upon his garment. A law of Theodosius and Valentinian of the year 436, complains that 300 pounds of silk had been clandestinely dyed with the imperial purple, and warns the superintendents of the imperial dye-house in Phœnicia to exercise greater vigilance, on pain of losing the salaries which they had earned by long service, and incurring a fine of 20 pounds of gold. As long as the empire of the East lasted, this dye continued to be appropriate to imperial use. Its manufacture seems to have expired with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks; for in 1464 Pope Paul II. authorized the substitution of scarlet for purple in the vestments of the Church[2].

As the purple dye was the characteristic production of Tyre, so was GLASS of Sidon. The ancients attributed its invention to accident. We have already mentioned the inexhaustible supply of fine white sand, free from all admixture of clay[3], which the coast near Mount Carmel affords. The locality in which it is found resembles, by its vicinity to the chalk, the spots whence our manufacturers derive their supplies of

[1] It is satisfactorily shown by Schmidt, Forschungen, p. 180, that it was not the manufacture of any tint of purple, but only the imperial or sacred, that was forbidden by these edicts.

[2] Schmidt, Forschungen, p. 209.

[3] See p. 21. Plin. 36, 26 (65). "Non nisi refuso mari arenas fatetur; fluctibus enim volutatæ nitescunt, detritis sordibus. Nunc et a marino creduntur adstringi morsu, non prius utiles."

silicious sand—Brighton, Reigate, the Isle of Wight, King's Lynn, and Calais[1]. Syria, however, does not produce the mineral alkali (soda or natron), which must be combined with silex in order to make glass; and this appears to be shadowed out in the fable of its invention. Some merchants, it is said, who were conveying a cargo of natron, which was used in Syria for soap[2], had landed on this coast. While preparing their meal, they propped their caldron, for want of stones, which the sandy coast did not afford, with lumps of the natron. These were melted by the heat, and mixing with the sand produced a stream of glass[3]. The discovery may have been accidental, as regards Sidon, but the probability is that the art was derived from Egypt, which is supplied with sand by the Desert, and with soda by the Natron Lakes. The operation of glass-blowing is represented in the paintings of Benihassan, to which we cannot attribute an antiquity of less than 3500 years; and a specimen of Egyptian glass is in existence, bearing the name of Sesortasen, a sovereign of the twelfth Dynasty[4]. No date is assigned by the tradition to the Sidonian invention; but from the absence of all mention of glass in the Old Testament[5], it is natural to conclude that the establishment of the manufacture there was not of very high antiquity.

[1] Englefield's Isle of Wight, p. 158. The sand of the Syrian coast, associated with the chalk, appears closely to resemble that of Alum Bay. Russegger, 1, 2, 67, describes it as exhibiting all possible shades of red, violet, yellow and white.

[2] Jer. 2, 22, where it is erroneously rendered *nitre*.

[3] Plin. u. s.

[4] Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 3, 88.

[5] זכוכית, Job. 28, 18, is evidently crystal, though rendered by the Seventy ὕαλος (al. κρύσταλλος), and the Vulgate, *vitrum*.

It was once considered doubtful whether the ancients had attained to any great perfection in the working of glass; but the discoveries at Pompeii and elsewhere, and the knowledge which has been obtained of the true nature of the Portland vase and similar remains, have shown that however we may surpass them in rapidity, quantity and cheapness of manufacture, we are inferior to them in beauty of material, in grace of design and dexterity of hand. In the production of flint-glass we no doubt excel them, its use for optical instruments having led to great improvements; but they knew the effect of an addition of manganese to the frit of sand and soda, in making the metal clearer[1]. The Sidonians used the blow-pipe, the lathe, and the graver, and cast mirrors of glass[2]. They must also have been acquainted with the art of imitating precious stones and colouring glass by means of metallic oxides. The pillar of emerald which Herodotus speaks of, in the temple of Hercules at Tyre, "shining brightly in the night[3]," can hardly have been anything else than a hollow cylinder of green glass, in which, as at Gades[4], a lamp perpetually burnt. The fame of Sidon appears to have declined before the time of Pliny. The Alexandrians had carried to the highest perfection the art of counterfeiting gems[5]; Italy, Gaul, and Spain had succeeded in making pure white glass; in the reign

[1] Pliny calls it *magnes lapis*, and supposes that it acted like a magnet in drawing to itself the iron which sand often contains. The effect, however, is chemical. Beckmann, 2, 236.

[2] "Aliud flatu figuratur, aliud torno teritur, aliud argenti modo cælatur, Sidone *quondam* iis officinis nobili, siquidem etiam specula excogitaverat." Plin. u. s.

[3] Her. 2, 44. In the Clementine Recognitions, 7, 12, we read of two immense columns of glass in the temple of Aradus.

[4] See p. 127, note 4.

[5] Strabo, 758.

of Tiberius it was rendered malleable, and the manufacture was suppressed lest it should impair the value of works in the precious metals[1]. Nero is said to have purchased a pair of glass vases for 600,000 sesterces, or £4500 sterling[2]. What was the amount of excellence attained by the artists of Sidon, accident or research may perhaps reveal, by bringing to light the contents of a dwelling or a sepulchre on its ancient territory.

To Sidon also is attributed the pre-eminence in the GLYPTIC AND PLASTIC arts, especially the manufacture of drinking-vessels of gold and silver[3]; but nothing remains to justify its reputation. Yet the artists whom Hiram furnished to Solomon for the construction and adornment of his temple and palace must have represented the skill of the nation, not of Tyre only, though Tyre had then acquired the ascendency over Sidon, and it comprehended every branch of art, working "in gold and in silver, in brass, in iron, and in purple and in blue, in stone and in timber, in fine linen, and the engraving of precious stones[4]." The description of the works in brass alone is sufficient to show that Phœnicia deserved its Homeric epithet, of "Sidon abounding in works of brass." To cast pillars of bronze, 18 cubits high and 12 in circumference, with capitals of the same mate-

[1] Plin. u. s.

[2] This price will not appear incredible if we remember that the Portland vase was purchased for 1800 guineas. The glass vase found at Pompeii in 1839, and figured in the frontispiece to Mr. Apsley Pellatt's Curiosities of Glass-making, would no doubt fetch an equal sum. Both these vases belong to the same class as Nero's, the Pterotoi or double-handled.

[3] Hom. Il. ψ', 742. Od. ο', 424. Strabo, 757.

[4] 2 Chron. 2, 14. According to the account in the Chronicles, one man, Hiram, excelled in all these arts; in Kings (1, 7) he is made only to work in brass.

rial, 5 cubits high; a molten sea supported by twelve brazen oxen, besides ten moveable lavers of brass, with their bases and brazen wheels, would be no slight task even for modern skill.

If we may judge of the æsthetic character of Phœnician art from that of Hiram's works at Jerusalem, it appears to have been national and local. It is very probable that its mechanism may have been derived from Egypt, but its principles were different. Egypt is deficient in wood, but abounds in stone;—granite, imperishable by its hardness, and therefore adapted for obelisks and statues; sandstone, easily quarrying into blocks of the largest size; limestone, for interior construction and massive piles, like the Pyramids, requiring no elaborate finish; and its whole system of architectural construction and adornment was adapted to this abundance of stone and scarcity of wood. Phœnicia, on the other hand, had inexhaustible supplies of cedar and fir; but its chalk, though the harder portions afford building-stone, is much inferior for architectural purposes even to the nummulitic limestone of Lower Egypt. Hence it was natural that wood should be the prevailing material of Phœnician architecture, while it was almost banished from that of Egypt. In the construction of Solomon's temple, only the foundation and three courses above it appear to have been of hewn stone; beams of cedar supplied the place of the immense architraves of the Egyptian palaces and temples; and all the internal decoration, instead of sculpture, was carved work of olive-wood, cedar and gold. From the enumeration of the materials prepared for David's palace, we may conclude that precious stones of various colours, as

well as marbles, were employed for incrusting or inlaying the walls[1]. The characteristic ornaments were of native origin; the pomegranate is not an Egyptian flower; the gourd[2], whose swelling fruit supplied the place of the egg-moulding in Greek sculpture, was a native of Palestine[3]; the palm and the lily belong quite as much to Phœnicia as to Egypt[4]. The name Phœnician has been given to an archaic class of fictile vases found in southern Italy, resembling Egyptian style, without any evidence of their Phœnician origin. The two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, which were set up in the porch, have been supposed to be an imitation of Egyptian obelisks; but they have no resemblance to them in form, and the Phœnicians were accustomed to erect pillars in their temples: Hiram had recently dedicated one of gold to the Tyrian Jupiter[5], and on the coins of Cyprus two of them appear before the temple of the Phœnician Venus[6]. Within the limits of Phœnicia itself, the only architectural remains which can clearly be referred to that people are foundations of walls, which from the bevelling of the joints are supposed to be Phœnician[7]. The architects

[1] 1 Chron. 29, 2.

[2] פקעים, the "knops" of our Translation. Comp. 2 Kings, 4, 39. The plant is the *Momordica Elaterion*, and derives its name from a word denoting to split or crack, as this gourd does with a loud noise when the seed is ripe.

[3] Cels. 1, 396.

[4] The שושן of the Hebrews appears to be the white lily, not the lotus. Cels. 1, 386. The lotus is found on Persepolitan sculpture (Ouseley, 2, pl. 41); but Cambyses brought artists from Egypt. Diod. 1, 46.

[5] Joseph. c. Apion. 1, 18. Eupolemus (Eus. Pr. Ev. 9, 37) represents Jachin and Boaz as covered with gold a finger in thickness. It has recently been ascertained that the pillars in the Egyptian temples have in some cases been covered with metal.

[6] Münter, Göttin zu Paphos, pl. iv. 2.

[7] This bevelling of the joints has been remarked in the foundations of the Temple at Jerusalem, which are reasonably supposed to belong to the structure of Solomon. Robinson, i. 423. In 1 Kings,

and sculptors, however, who could prepare beforehand the stone and wood-work of the Temple, so that neither axe nor hammer was needed in the erection, must have been masters of their respective arts. Maundrell[1] long ago noticed some remains near Marathus, opposite to Aradus, round pillars without inscriptions, which have been supposed to be ancient Phœnician; but neither their origin nor their use is well ascertained. Figures of the Phœnician Venus have been found in Cyprus; their sculpture is very rude. Of the Sardinian idols only a small part bear any resemblance to deities of the Phœnician mythology[2]. The singular structures called Nuraghi, with which that island abounds, have been already mentioned; there is no sufficient ground for referring them to Phœnician colonists[3]. The island of Gaulos (Gozo), near Malta, contains foundations of buildings of Cyclopean construction, which are supposed with probability to indicate a temple of Venus, of Phœnician or Carthaginian origin; but no inscription or sculpture has been found by which this might be ascertained, and the workmanship is very rude. The temple of Baal at Jerusalem must have been of considerable extent, as it could contain all his worshipers[4]; generally, however, the Phœnician temples appear to have been small.

Among the Greeks the art of sculpture was perfected by means of religion, its highest efforts being

5, 32 (18), it has been proposed to read for והגבלים (Giblites or stone-squarers), ויגבלום, "and made a border upon them." Phœnicia was reputed to have invented masonry. Pliny, H.N. 7, 57. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1, 16.

[1] Travels, p. 28.

[2] Gerhard, pl., iv. v.

[3] See p. 115.

[4] 2 Kings, 2, 10. The "city of the house of Baal" there spoken of is probably the enclosure, which was fortified, like the *στρατόπεδον* of the Tyrians (Her. 2, 112), as a security for the exercise of an alien worship.

devoted to the representation of the gods. The Phœnicians appear in early times not to have given their divinities the human form; they worshiped stones called Bætyli, in which they supposed a divine spirit to reside. Judging from the accounts of Scripture, they had arrived at great perfection in their works of ivory, which they first used in the construction of musical instruments[1]. Solomon's throne was of ivory and gold; and the beds of ivory on which the luxurious inhabitants of Samaria reclined were probably the work of Phœnician, not Jewish, artificers. The various articles of female luxury which the indignant prophet enumerates (Is. 3, 19), remind us of the "gawds without number[2]," by which the Phœnician traders attracted the Grecian maidens, and came no doubt from the same manufactories. Should any fortunate accident bring to light the contents of a Phœnician tomb, like that of the Etruscan priestess at Cære, we might hope to find in it examples of the "feet-rings and the networks and the crescents, the pendents and the bracelets, the tiaras and the foot-chains and the zones, the perfume-boxes and the amulets," in which the daughters of Zion flaunted. Other arts of luxury flourished in Phœnicia. The engraving of gems is one of those which the author of the Book of Chronicles[3] attributes to Hiram, and the language in which Ezekiel upbraids the king of Tyre[4] indicates that the regal vestments were richly adorned

[1] Athen. 4, 183. Comp. Ezek. 28, 13. The invention of music was attributed to Sidon. Sanchon. p. 32, Orell. A particular form of the cithara was called λυροφοίνιξ. Athen. u. s.

[2] Μυρία ἀθύρματα. Hom. Od. ο', 415.

[3] 2 Chron. 2, 14.

[4] Ezek. 28, 13. "Every precious stone was thy covering."

with them. Phœnicia was celebrated for the manufacture of perfumes[1], especially that from the lily and the cyprus, or al henna[2].

[1] Juv. 8, 150. Plin. 13, 1. [2] Boch. G. S. lib. 1, c. 1.

NOTE ON THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BUCCINUM AND MUREX.

Aristotle, in the Fifth Book of his History of Animals, gives the following account of the production of the πορφύραι. "Collecting in the same place in spring[1], they produce what is called their honeycomb (μελικήραν); this is like a honeycomb, but less smooth, as if it were compacted together of the seed-vessels of white vetches. None of these has any open channel, nor are the Purpuræ produced from them, but they and the other testacea are produced from mud and decomposition (συσσήψεως). This is a sort of excrementitious matter both to them and the Buccina; for the Buccina also construct combs. All these combs then are dissolved and emit an ichor on the earth, and on this spot are produced little Purpuræ, formed on the ground; the Purpuræ when caught have these upon them, some not yet fully developed * * *. They have their colouring liquor (ἄνθος) between the gland (?) (μήκων, lit. poppy-head) and the neck, which adhere closely together (τούτων δ' ἐστὶν ἡ σύμφυσις πυκνή); its colour is like that of a white membrane which they take out; being squeezed it moistens and colours the hand: something like a vein runs through it; this appears to be the colouring liquor; the substance of the rest is like alum. The colouring liquor of the Purpuræ is the worst when they are making their combs (ὅταν κηριάζωσι)." 5, 13, in Schneider's edition, al. 15.

It is hardly necessary to point out the error under which Aristotle laboured in giving his account of the production of the Purpuræ. "Le systême d'Aristote est très-faux, en ce qu'il

[1] The Buccinum (κῆρυξ) was produced, according to Aristotle, rather earlier than the Murex (πορφύρα), λήγοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος.

suppose que ces animaux se forment du limon, de la bourbe, ou du sable qui se trouve au fonds de la mer." Camus, Testacées, vol. 2, p. 794. The Purpura and the Buccinum are oviparous and diœcious; the female excludes the egg and the male fecundates it. The ichor of which Aristotle speaks is the mucus in which the egg is enveloped, and which, when it comes into contact with salt water, coagulates and assumes a membranous structure. What he calls the comb, is the cluster of egg-cases, or concatenated nidus in which the young undergo their transformation. The membrane in which they are enveloped is permeable by the oxygen contained in the water, and at the same time protects the eggs till the shell has acquired the necessary strength. A familiar example of it is the "sea wash-ball," the nidus of the *Buccinum undatum*[1], which resembles more the nest of the humble-bee than a honeycomb.

Aristotle remarks that the colouring liquid is worst when the Purpuræ are forming their comb. As Pliny, in the corresponding passage (9, 37 (61, 62)), says, "cum *cerificavere* fluxos habent succos," it has been proposed to read κηριάσωσι for κηριάζωσι. This perhaps is not necessary: the deterioration would be most complete when the process of laying the eggs was finished; both for the reason mentioned by Reaumur, that they contain a large quantity of the colouring matter, and because the animal is exhausted by the act of production. The present tense, however, is not inappropriate, as the process of deterioration would begin and go on simultaneously with the *cerification*.

The best account of the internal structure of these mollusca is still that given by Reaumur, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, 1711:—"La coquille du buccinum, cassée à quelque distance de son ouverture ou de la tête du buccinum, on apperçoit une petite veine, pour me servir de l'expression des anciens, ou pour parler plus juste, un petit reservoir plein de la liqueur propre à teindre en pourpre. La liqueur renfermée dans ce petit reservoir, est d'une couleur qui tire sur le blanc, ou d'un blanc jaunâtre. Le reservoir n'est pas d'égale grandeur dans tous les buccinum; il a pourtant communément une ligne de large et deux ou trois lignes de longue. La longueur de ce reservoir suit celle du corps de l'animal; c'est à dire, qu'elle va de la tête vers la queue, non pas en ligne droite, mais en suivant la spirale de la coquille. Il n'y a pas la valeur d'une bonne goutte de liqueur,

[1] Johnston's Introduction to Conchology, p. 355.

contenue dans chaque reservoir[1]." What function the fluid is designed to answer in the economy of the animal, is unknown. Pliny (9, 36) erroneously describes it as "nigrantis rosæ colore sublucens," which applies only to the dye.

Cuvier differs from almost all other naturalists in his account of the production of this fluid. He says (Leç. d'Anatomie Comparée, 5, 263), "Cette liqueur colorante, si célèbre par l'usage qu'en faisoient les anciens, est produite par beaucoup de gasteropodes différens. Je l'ai vue dans plusieurs *murex* transuder des bords du manteau qui double la coquille en dedans." He adds, "Quelques naturalistes célèbres ont vu la liqueur colorante de quelques *murex* sortir verte de leur corps et devenir pourpre par l'action de la lumière. Je n'ai point observé ce changement. Le *Murex brandaris* l'a fait sortir sous mes yeux déjà toute violette." (p. 264.) Notwithstanding this testimony, the fact of the changes in colour cannot be doubted; but by what chemical agency they are produced appears to be quite uncertain. Something similar takes place in the case of horn-silver (chloride of silver), which from green becomes purple by exposure to the light[2].

The vagueness of ancient zoological nomenclature makes it impossible to determine from Aristotle or Pliny what was the precise species, either of Buccinum or Murex, from which the Tyrians obtained their dye[3]. The question was thought to have been settled, as far as the latter genus is concerned, by a discovery of Dr. Wilde[4], who believed that he had found at Tyre still remaining shells of the *Murex trunculus*. The Italian naturalist, Brocchi, who had visited the coast of Phœnicia, could not find any species of Murex near Tyre, but he does not appear to have dredged in deep water. Lesson, again, says that the *Helix ianthina*, so called from

[1] The vein in question may be seen in the plate of *Purpura lapillus*. Forbes and Hanley, v. 3, pl. LL. 4.

[2] Bancroft on Permanent Colours, 1, 145, quoted by Johnston, p. 75.

[3] Little reliance can be placed on the accuracy of a figure on a coin; but the shell which is introduced on the coins of Tyre, of the age of Septimius Severus, and the denarii of the Furian family, though called Purpura or Murex by the numismatists (Eckhel, D. N. 3, 1, 391. 5, 2, 222. Rasche, s. v. Tyrus), resembles a Buccinum more than a Murex. See Pl. II. Smyth (Mediterranean, p. 205, 207) enumerates six species of Buccinum, and eight of Murex, found in its waters and popularly distinguished.

[4] He had found a number of vase-like excavations, some of great size, in the sandstone which forms itself along these shores. They contain a kind of breccia, in which remains of shells, all of the *Murex trunculus*, are imbedded. Dr. Wilde supposed that these cavities were the places in which the Tyrians crushed the Purpuræ, and that the fragments have become consolidated by the washing-in of the sea. Vol. 2. p. 148-151, and Appendix.

the violet tint of its shell, furnishes a similar fluid to the Murex and Buccinum, and is found in great abundance in the Mediterranean as well as the Atlantic. His account of this mollusk, however, as discharging a pure bright red colour at the moment when, after supporting itself in the sea by its air-vesicles, it retires under water, does not at all agree with the description of the ancients, and it is doubtful if the Buccinum and Murex voluntarily discharge their colouring fluid, like the Sepia and Aplysia[1]. According to Olivier, not only Buccinum and Murex, but the allied genera of Trochus and Strombus yield a colouring material[2]. Both the zoology and the chemistry of this subject require a careful investigation, by actual experiment and research. Nothing more is to be learnt by commenting on the words of the ancients.

Aristotle, in the context of the passage quoted above, says that the Purpuræ, when found on shores and promontories (as opposed to bays), are usually of small size, and their juice red; and that generally speaking, in northern regions they (apparently meaning their juices) are black; in southern regions red. Vitruvius (7, 13) improves on this, and says they are black in the North; livid in the North-west; violet in the East and West; and red in the South. The statement of Aristotle is probably correct, for it is analogous to what is observed of the superior brilliancy of colour in southern regions, both in vegetables and animals.

Since the preceding part of this note was written, I have had an opportunity of consulting the work of Amati De Restitutione Purpurarum (ed. 3. Cæsenæ A.D. 1784), which I had been unable previously to procure, through the kindness of Mr. Panizzi and Mr. Birch. With exhaustive erudition the author collects all the passages of the ancients relating to the discovery, the manufacture and the use of purple, and all those in modern authors which mention the property of the Muricidæ to yield a colouring fluid. In chap. lxii., however, which treats *De tentata restitutione purpurarum*, we find no record of any successful experiment to reproduce the *Tyrian* purple, by a repetition of the process described by Pliny. An appendix containing an extract from the Lexicon Pharmaceutico-Chimicum of J. B. Capellius, pharmacopola Venetus, 1775, gives an account of an unsuccessful attempt.

[1] See Jameson's Ed. Phil. Journ. 19, 403. M. Lesson appears to have misunderstood the passage in Pliny.

[2] Ritter, 17, 374. The poets allow themselves a great latitude, and call purple, *ostrum*, used in the general sense for *testacea*.

For the present, therefore, Porphyropoea, as Amati calls it, remains among the *artes deperditæ*.

The treatise of Amati has superseded an older work by Fabio Colonna, a Neapolitan, published at Rome in 1616, and republished at Kiel under the title "Fab. Columnæ Opusculum de Purpura iterum luci datum opera et studio Joh. Dan. Majoris M.D. Kiliæ 1675." I have not seen "Mich. Rosa, delle porpore e delle materie vestiarie; Modena, 1786, 8vo;" but according to Schmidt (Forschungen, p. 98), he follows Amati even in his errors.

The work of Schmidt, which I have quoted, is a commentary on two Græco-Egyptian papyri preserved at Berlin. One of them is a hiring-contract between Dioscoros, a workman, and Pachymios, a πορφυροπώλης, of This (Abydos), in Upper Egypt; the other, an acquittance from Kallinikos to the same Pachymios. Schmidt inclines to believe that Pachymios was not only a seller, but a manufacturer of purple. I see no more reason for this than for supposing that Lydia of Thyatira (Acts, 16, 14), who is called πορφυρόπωλις, was a manufacturer. The Latin term *purpurarius* seems to have included both the seller and the maker. All the known localities of the manufacture were on or near the sea-coast, but it appears that in the imperial times means had been devised of preserving the flesh of the Buccinum, without material injury to the virtue of the dye when mixed with water, for six months. Schmidt (p. 171) quotes the following passage from an epistle of Theodoric to the superintendent of his purple manufactory at Otranto, whom he severely reproves for delay in executing an order:—"Mirum est substantiam illam" (intusa conchylia) "morte confectam, cruorem de se post spatia tam longi temporis exsudare. Nam cum sex pæne mensibus marinæ delitiæ a vitali fuerint vigore separatæ, sagacibus naribus nesciunt esse gravissimæ." (Cassiodorus, ii. 2.) A manufactory of purple at This, therefore, in the third year of the Emperor Heraclius (the date of these papyri, A.D. 613), is not impossible, though by no means probable, considering how costly the transport from the sea-coast must have been. It should seem from the epistle of Theodoric, that one purpose of keeping the dye so long was that it might lose its rank smell.

CHAPTER IX.

MINING AND METALLURGY.

METALLURGY in some form or other is an art necessarily coæval with the commencement of civilization, and we can therefore expect no historical account of the time or place of its origin. For this reason we find mythic inventors in the legends of many nations of antiquity; and though we can attach absolute credit to none of them, yet they may serve as indications of historical truth. The Phœnicians have no claim to the invention of metallurgy or mining, in the former of which Egypt, and probably Assyria, preceded them; but in the history of Cadmus, which represents the westward progress of their colonies, metallurgy is clearly indicated as one of the arts which they diffused. We do not indeed find his name connected with the Phœnician settlements in Cyprus; but Cinyras, the Cyprian king, the inventor of the manufacture of brass, of the tongs, the hammer, the lever and the anvil, who gave to Agamemnon the breastplate of steel, gold and tin[1], was a king of Byblus, who migrated thence and founded Paphos[2]. The ore calamine, a carbonate of zinc which furnishes this ingredient for the manufacture of brass, and is found in great abundance in Cyprus, as well as copper

[1] Il. λ', 25.

[2] Strabo, 16, 755. Apollod. 3, 14. Plin. 34, 2. "In Cypro prima fuit æris inventio."

ore, was called Cadmia[1]. The gold-mines of Thrace early attracted the notice of the Phœnicians; they had colonized the island of Thasos, which was itself very rich in this metal, though less so than Mount Pangæus on the opposite coast, whence the Athenians and Macedonians drew such large revenues. Herodotus had seen these mines; but the workings of his day were far less wonderful than those of the Phœnicians, who had turned a large mountain topsy-turvy in their search for gold[2]. Both the working and the reduction of the ore were attributed to Cadmus[3], who had come to Thasos in his search for Europa[4]. The neighbouring islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace abound in metallic ores, and were the seat of the worship of the Cabiri, which had its origin in Phœnicia, and is everywhere connected with metallurgy and navigation. Traces of the same worship are found in the neighbouring peninsula, which from its ores of copper bore the name of Chalcidice. Thebes was the chief colony of the Phœnicians in Greece, the only one indeed which had any political significance; and here many traditions connect the name of Cadmus with the manufacture of brass. It was the reputed place of its invention by him. The fable of the warriors armed in brass, which sprung from the serpent's teeth sown by him, has been already mentioned as indicating the invention of a brazen panoply. Half of these teeth were conveyed to Colchis, and given to Æetes, the king of that country, whose

[1] En[illegible]s, 1, 45, 47. Plin. 34, 10 (22).

[2] Her. 6, 47. Ὄρος μέγα ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ζητήσει. See p. 93.

[3] "Auri metalla et conflaturam Cadmus Phœnix ad Pangæum montem." Plin. 7, 56.

[4] Her. 2, 47.

mythic history has an evident reference to the arts of metallurgy, and especially the manufacture of brass[1]. The island of Eubœa abounded in copper and iron ore[2]; and the manufacture of brass at Chalcis was attributed to Cadmus, and the *Arabs* whom he brought with him,—a misapprehension of the origin of the Phœnicians, if it be not rather an etymological error[3], which has changed an epithet of the workmen into a proper name.

Nowhere in the ancient world were mining operations carried on upon a larger scale, or by more scientific methods, than in Spain. On their first arrival the Phœnicians found the precious metals so abundant, that no labour was necessary on their part to obtain them[4]. This state of things would not long continue, and the skill which they had acquired elsewhere would be applied in working the silver-mines of Tartessus. From the accounts of Posidonius, whom Strabo, Diodorus and Pliny follow, it is evident that in the last century before the birth of Christ, mining works were carried on there with stupendous labour, and the application of the best science of the age. Perpendicular shafts and horizontal adits were driven through the hardest strata, branching laterally into numerous galleries. The water was drawn off by tunnels, or pumped up by means of the spiral of Archimedes, and air-shafts were opened to the surface[5]. The ores were roasted, crushed, pounded to a paste, and washed by processes, which, with the exception of more powerful

[1] Κολχίς is the same as Χαλκίς. See Egypt of Herodotus, p. 281.

[2] Strabo, 16, p. 447. See p. 100.

[3] Ἄραβος is a clattering noise, such as that of hammers upon metal. Il. δ, 504.

[4] See p. 119.

[5] Bethe, Hisp. Ant. Res Metallica, p. 34. Gotting. 1808.

machinery being employed, were identical with those now in use. To obtain the necessary fall of water, reservoirs were constructed at a great height among the mountains, and conducted many miles by aqueducts or tunnels to the place where the ores were washed[1]. In the ultimate reduction of the ore to a metallic state, the ancients, from their ignorance of chemistry, were much inferior to the moderns; their gold was imperfectly separated from their silver, and their silver from their lead.

The traces of Roman mining operations in Transylvania[2], where they had no predecessors, show to what a degree of perfection the art had attained in the imperial times; but in Spain they only followed the footsteps of the Carthaginians and the Phœnicians. The metallic riches which the Phœnicians found there, the natives had obtained by mere superficial digging; their land was the scene of the legend that silver and gold were produced by the conflagration of a forest which had fused the ore that covered the surface[3]. The Carthaginians, who had much more complete possession of the south of Spain than the Phœnicians, opened many new mines, and introduced the practice of working them by slave labour, which the Romans continued and extended. The metallurgic skill of the Carthaginians, however, must have been inherited from the Phœnicians, for we hear of no mining works carried on by them in Africa. The twenty-eighth chapter of the Book of Job contains

[1] Plin. 33, 4 (21). "Alius labor flumina ad lavandam hanc ruinam jugis montium ducere obiter a centesimo plerumque lapide. Præceps isse libramentum oportet, ut ruat verius, quam fluat, itaque altissimis partibus ducitur."

[2] Bethe, p. 21. Massmann, Libellus Aurarius, p. 93 *seq.*

[3] Strabo, 3, p. 147.

allusions to the art of mining in the author's day, which imply that it had already reached a high degree of perfection. If his age and country were better ascertained, we might pronounce with more confidence whence his descriptions were derived.

1. Truly there is a vein for the silver,
And a place for the gold which they refine.
2 Iron is taken out of the earth[1],
And the stone is melted into brass.
3. He putteth an end to darkness[2],
And searcheth to every extremity
The stone of darkness and the shadow of death.
4. He breaks a channel from the base.
Forgotten of the foot
They sink down, they wander from among men[3].
9. He putteth forth his hand upon the flinty rock,
He overturneth the mountains by the roots[4].
10. He cutteth out channels of waters in the rocks[5],
And his eye seeth every precious thing.
11. He restraineth the waters from dropping[6],
And that which was hidden he bringeth to light.

Excepting those operations which are carried on by the modern inventions of the compass, gunpowder and steam, we have here a complete description of the art of mining,—tunnelling through the rock by artificial light, the construction of adits, shafts, and water-

[1] מעפר, "from the dust," the ferruginous sand, whence the ore is most readily obtained.

[2] "Cuniculis per magna spatia actis cavantur montes ad lucernarum lumina." Plin. 33, 21. In the gold-mines near the Red Sea, the men worked with lights fixed on their foreheads. Diod. 3, 11.

[3] This verse is obscure, and has been variously translated; the first part probably describes the driving of a horizontal adit; the second, the descent of the miner in a perpendicular shaft.

[4] "Mons fractus cadit ab sese longe, fragore qui concipi humana mente non possit et flatu incredibili." Plin. u. s.

[5] "Convallis et intervalla substructis canalibus junguntur: alibi rupes inviæ cæduntur." Plin. u. s.

[6] Lit. "from weeping."

"In saxis ac speluncis permanat aquarum
Liquidus humor, et uberibus *flent omnia guttis*."
Lucr. 1, 349.

courses, whether for obtaining a stream or for draining the mine, and the application of fire to separate the metal from the ore. The native country of the author of this book is commonly supposed to be Idumæa; but wherever he lived, it is evident that his knowledge must have been extensive. Idumæa is not itself a metalliferous region; and though copper was found in the mountains of the peninsula of Sinai, the traces of the ancient workings still visible there do not at all correspond to the scale of the description in Job[1]. Egypt, which was evidently well known to the author[2], may have furnished him with some traits of the description, if the ancient workings of the gold-mines in the country bordering on the Red Sea were conducted in his time as in the days of Agatharchides, whose account of them has been preserved by Diodorus[3]. The mention of the abundance of water, however, and the necessity of its diversion, in order to carry on the work of the miner, does not seem appropriate to the climate of this region. But all the circumstances are found combined in the mines of Spain, as described by Pliny[4]. There can be no difficulty in supposing that the author had the Phœnician mines of Spain in his view, in this very poetical and graphic passage, if he lived in the later times of the Jewish monarchy, which many circumstances render probable.

[1] Lepsius, Letters from Egypt, 33. Germ.

[2] See the descriptions of the hippopotamus and crocodile, ch. 40, 41.

[3] Diod. 3, 12.

[4] H. N. 33, 4.

CHAPTER X.

GOVERNMENT, COLONIAL RELATIONS, AND MILITARY SYSTEM.

No tradition has reached us of any period, in which the cities of Phœnicia were governed otherwise than by kings. Strabo, speaking of Aradus, says, "in ancient times the Aradians, like all the other Phœnician cities, were governed by kings of their own[1]." Such was the state of the land of Canaan when invaded by the Israelites; every petty town with its adjacent territory constituting a sovereignty, sometimes united in alliance, through the apprehension of a common danger[2]. The high rank and authority of the chief priests of the national worship in the Phœnician cities, may suggest the probability that in earlier times they exercised sovereignty, like Melchizedek, the king and priest of Salem; but history gives us no information of such a state of things; and if the king exercised the sacerdotal office, it was in consequence of the supposed divine origin of the kingly dignity. When Phœnician cities are mentioned in the Old Testament, they appear under monarchical government; and such continued to be their state, even when the national independence was lost by their subjection to the Persian kings. The monarchy was hereditary wherever we can trace its descent; but the sanction of the people was necessary[3], and to them the right of election

[1] Str. 16, p. 754. [2] Josh. 9, 1. 10, 3. 11, 1. [3] Justin, 18, 4.

devolved in a vacancy of the throne. In Tyre, and probably also in Sidon and the other principal cities, a powerful aristocracy existed, along with monarchy. Among the Philistines the aristocracy appear to have had the government in their own hands; we read of their lords in the Jewish history, but of a king only in Gath[1], an inland town, in which commerce had not produced the wealth which raised the merchants of the maritime cities to the rank of princes. The first historical accounts of Phœnicia are too remote from the origin of its governments to allow us to say on what the distinction of nobility was founded. From analogy we should conclude that it was originally derived from birth, the descendents of those who had been most eminent in the early ages of the state retaining a superiority in after-times; and it appears that some families claimed a patrician descent[2], which, however, could hardly be the sole title to pre-eminence in a state where the riches derived from trade and manufactures so rapidly changed the relative condition of individuals. In Athens and in Rome, we find that with the increase of activity and movement in the community, political power passed out of the exclusive possession of those of noble birth, though the quality of eupatrid and patrician still continued to confer distinction and eligibility to certain offices.

In the transactions between the Tyrians and the Jews, during the reigns of David and Solomon, we hear only of the king; but the circumstances of the emigration of Dido reveal the existence of a body of

[1] 1 Sam. 27, 2.
[2] See Movers, ap. Ersch und Gruber, Encycl. p. 341.

nobles, of which a part was in hostility with the sovereign. When she had determined to withdraw from the kingdom of her brother Pygmalion, she associated with herself some of the chief men of the state whom she believed to be equally hostile to the king and equally intent on escaping from his dominion. As they are also called senators[1], we may infer that they were not merely the wealthier or nobler members of the community, but a deliberative assembly. Pygmalion had been invested with the sole sovereignty by the people, and adopting the natural policy of monarchy had made their favour the means of depressing the aristocracy, who being unable to withstand the league of king and people, joined the king's sister in her emigration to Africa. Monarchy at Carthage hardly survived the queen, and a government was instituted in its stead, which seems to have been closely modeled upon that of the parent state[2]. At Tyre, in vacancies of the throne, the place of the sovereign was supplied by elective magistrates called Judges, Suffetes, exercising the function of royalty, but without hereditary succession[3]. Such rulers, and under the same name, the Israelites had before the time of Saul; not formally chosen, however, by the people, but raised to power by their public services in times of oppression. The Carthaginians placed two Suffetes at the head of their government, annually elected from a certain number of noble families[4], as the Romans, when they

[1] Justin, u. s.

[2] Aristotle, Pol. 5, 10, speaks of Carthage as having been once under a tyranny, succeeded by aristocracy. This must have been in the earliest age of its history.

[3] Jos. c. Apion. 1, 21. After the siege by Nebuchadnezzar, Baal reigned ten years; after him were Judges for twelve months, the high priest three months, then Judges for six years, a reign of one year interposing.

[4] The states founded or con-

abolished monarchy, divided its functions between two consuls of patrician blood. Along with these there existed at Carthage a numerous Senate, as at Rome, and a Council of 100 or 104 chosen out of the larger body, who not only acted as judges, but managed, in conjunction with the Suffetes, the principal affairs of state, and exacted an account of their administration from generals who had held command under the Republic. We find also mention made of thirty senators, who formed a ruling body in the larger assembly, and of ten of the highest dignity, who represented the whole in foreign embassies. How far these subdivisions existed in Tyre itself, we do not know; a general resemblance between the institutions of Carthage and the parent state may reasonably be presumed[1]; but in the absence of a monarchical head, both aristocracy and democracy would naturally gain a greater development in the colony. A similar effect seems to have attended the depression of the power of the king under the Persian dominion of Phœnicia, and its abolition under the Syro-Macedonians. We find in these later times frequent mention of the Senate, which rarely appears before.

The state of an oriental monarch was usually maintained by the produce of the land of which he was in theory the sole possessor. The actual cultivator of the soil paid a portion of the produce, generally a fifth, either to the sovereign for the land which

quered by Carthage, as Gades and the towns in North Africa, had Suffetes as their chief magistrates. Livy, 28, 37, and the inscriptions quoted by Movers, 2, 1, 534.

[1] Movers, 2, 1, ch. 12, carries out the analogy between Carthage and Tyre into very minute particulars; but his proofs appear to me often slight and fanciful.

the crown retained in its own hands, or to some temple to which it had been allotted, or some subject to whom it had been granted by the sovereign. The Jewish state afforded an example, almost solitary in the East, of the possession of land by the cultivator as an independent owner. The kings of the Phœnician coast could not derive any great revenue from this source, as the extent of land belonging to each city was so limited; while in the Jewish state, if we may judge from the number of superintendents, the domain-lands must have been very extensive[1]. Commerce was the means by which in Phœnicia both king and nobles were enriched. We know that when Israel for a short time became a commercial nation, Solomon derived a considerable revenue from the merchandise imported into, or passing through his country[2]; and doubtless the kings of Tyre and Sidon levied much larger sums on their more extended traffic. They were themselves merchants, probably also manufacturers Solomon and Hiram jointly engage in the voyage to Ophir; and it was no doubt in imitation of the practice of his Phœnician neighbours that Solomon carried on a traffic with Egypt in horses and linen yarn, having officers specially appointed to conduct these royal monopolies[3]. Another source of Solomon's revenue was the sums paid to him for their offices by the governors of the different provinces of his kingdom, which reached from Hamath in the valley of the Orontes to Rhinocolura on the frontiers of Egypt[4].

[1] 1 Chron. 27, 25, where twelve heads of departments, all connected with different branches of cultivation, are enumerated.

[2] 1 Kings, 10, 15. Solomon had 666 talents of gold; "besides what he had from the merchantmen, and the traffic of the spice-merchants, and of all the kings of Arabia and the governors."

[3] 1 Kings, 10, 22, 28.

[4] 1 Kings, 8, 65; 9, 23.

The ascendency which Sidon and Tyre successively exercised was accompanied no doubt with pecuniary exactions from the dependent states. Their dominions were too limited to admit of a government by satraps; but, according to the analogy of oriental monarchies, it is probable that the chiefs of the nobility made presents to the sovereign.

Judæa, as a conquered country, contained a large remnant of the old Canaanite population, who either rendered personal bond-service, or paid a tribute[1]; no such distinction nor source of profit could exist in Phœnicia, whose population was homogeneous. It is not improbable, however, that some of the Jewish tribes which bordered on Phœnicia may have been tributary to their powerful neighbours; such a state of things appears to have been contemplated in regard to Issachar in the benediction of Jacob[2]. This tribe inhabited a region of great fertility, but little natural strength, and were celebrated rather for their wisdom than their patriotism or military prowess[3]. Slaves formed a large part of the population of the Phœnician states. The general occupation of the free citizens in commerce made it necessary to supply their place by slaves, whom the same commerce gave them the means of procuring from all parts of the ancient world. Such were their numbers in Tyre, where, besides purposes of luxury and state, they were probably extensively employed in manufactures, that on one occasion, of uncertain date, a servile insurrection took place, in which their masters and the free population were

[1] 1 Kings, 9, 21.

[2] Gen. 49, 14, 15. "Issachar bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant to tribute."

[3] 1 Chron. 12, 32. They sent no troops to assist in placing David on the throne.

banished or put to death, and the succession of the monarchy changed[1]. Such an event must have altered greatly for the worse the character of the Tyrian population; and Alexander, if he supplied the place of the descendents of the slaves by Carians, would not repair the injury[2].

The institution of caste appears to have been unknown in civil life in Phœnicia, as might have been anticipated from the free and varied activity of its citizens. The priesthood formed an exception, as among the Jews, but with this difference, that the Jews had only one God, one temple, and one tribe set apart for the hereditary service of the sanctuary, while in Phœnicia each city had its own chief god, with many inferior divinities. The chief priesthood was probably hereditary, and was held by persons of royal blood. The dignity of high priest at Tyre[3] was next to that of king. The inferior priests would seem very numerous, if we judged from the numbers of the priests of Baal who were maintained at Jezebel's table[4]; but Jezebel was a fanatical devotee, and in Phœnicia itself it is not probable that any large proportion of the people was withdrawn from active life to be devoted to the services of religion.

Although the cities of the Phœnician coast were never united in a single monarchy, the superior power, first of Sidon and afterwards of Tyre, enabled it to exercise that controling power, which the Greeks called *hegemony*. A common interest also produced among them a voluntary union for deliberation and combined action. The three principal cities, Sidon,

[1] Justin, 18, 3.
[2] See Orac. Sibyll. iv. 98.
[3] Justin, 18, 4.
[4] 1 Kings, 18, 19.

Tyre, and Aradus, had a place of joint meeting, the town of Tripolis, in which measures of the highest importance were decided[1]. Its institution was probably later than the invasion of Phœnicia by Nebuchadnezzar; for Aradus, which at the time when we have the first account of the Synedrium, in the reigns of Artaxerxes Mnemon and Ochus, held an equal rank with the other two cities, appears in Ezekiel as furnishing troops to Tyre. Tripolis, too, is known by no other than its Greek name, and is not mentioned in the earlier history. The confederate states were so careful to preserve their independence of each other, that they had their own quarter in Tripolis, separated by an interval of a stadium[2]. Although the king of Sidon and his hundred senators are alone mentioned in the account of the Synedrium, there can be no doubt that Aradus and Tyre were represented there in a similar way. Whether the three great powers disposed arbitrarily of the smaller cities, or these also were represented in the Synedrium, we are not informed; in the enumeration of the Phœnician naval forces[3], only those of the four chief cities are specified, the others furnishing their contingent.

The history of the colonies sent out by Phœnicia beyond sea is in most cases too obscure to allow of our defining the relation in which they stood to the parent state. As might be expected from their wide geographical diffusion, it was much less intimate than that which existed between the Greek colonies and

[1] Diod. 16, 41. Ἀξίωμα ἔχει μέγιστον Τρίπολις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην πόλεων, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινε τοὺς Φοίνικας συνέδριον ἔχειν καὶ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων.

[2] See before, p. 10.

[3] See p. 275.

their metropolis[1]. It was maintained rather by filial piety[2] than political dependence. The devotion of the Tyrians to their tutelary god Melkarth, kept up a closer union between Tyre and its colonists than any other Phœnician city. The Phœnicians who formed a part of the fleet of Cambyses refused to march against the Carthaginians, because they regarded them as their children[3]. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, in the early years of their history, used to send a tenth of their public revenues as an offering to the temple of Melkarth, but had neglected it as their wealth increased, and sent only a paltry contribution. When defeated by Agathocles, their superstitious fears were awakened, and they sent large sums of money and golden shrines with other precious gifts to Tyre, to propitiate him, endeavouring at the same time to avert the wrath of Saturn by sacrificing to him two hundred noble youths[4]. To the same temple they sent a tenth of the spoils of a successful war[5]. At the time of the capture of Tyre by Alexander, some Carthaginian envoys were within its walls, who had come according to ancient custom to bring offerings in a sacred ship to Hercules; they encouraged the Tyrians in their resistance by the promise of speedy aid from Carthage, and when the city was taken, fled for sanctuary to his temple[6]. The people of Gades sent every year a sacred vessel to Tyre, bearing the offering of their first fruits to Hercules. Byzantium, in which Tyrians

[1] See the note of Valesius on Polyb. 12, 10.

[2] Curt. 4, 8. "Carthaginem Tyrii condiderunt, semper parentum loco culti." Ὅσης ἀξιοῦσι τιμῆς τυγχάνειν οἱ πατέρες παρὰ τῶν ἐκγόνων τοσαύτης οἱ κτίσαντες τὰς πόλεις παρὰ τῶν ἀποίκων. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 3, 7.

[3] Her. 3, 19.

[4] Diod. 20, 14.

[5] Justin, 18, 7. Polyb. 31, 20.

[6] Arrian, 2, 24. Diod. 17, 40.

had settled, were warned by an oracle to send an embassy to Tyre to perform sacrifices to Hercules[1], and despatched a vessel thither, laden with victims and odoriferous gums. An expression of Ephorus[2], literally taken, would imply that Phœnicia held her colonies obliged to aid her with ships and soldiers in her warlike enterprises. If the claim were advanced, however, it was a sense of community of interest in the destruction of the Greek power in Sicily, rather than colonial dependence, which induced the Carthaginians to obey the command of the Phœnicians and Persians[3].

The same passage of the prophet Ezekiel, which has afforded us so much information respecting the Tyrian commerce, throws light also on the MILITARY SYSTEM of Phœnicia. Tyre, as being then the predominant power, employed in her own service the mariners and soldiers of the other states. "The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners; the old men and the skilful men of Byblus were in thee as calkers; the men of Arvad were in thine army upon thy walls round about; the Gammadim[4] were in thy towers; they hanged their bucklers upon thy walls round about; they made thy beauty perfect." It was for self-defence rather than for conquest that the Phœnicians became a military people. Their navy pro-

[1] Achilles Tat. 2, 14. The embassy sent with 300 drachms of silver to Hercules by the Hellenizing priest Jason (2 Macc. 4, 19), was a compliment to the Syrian kings of Macedonian race, who claimed descent from Hercules, but is no evidence of a previous custom.

[2] Schol. Pind. Pyth. 1, 146. *προστάσσοντας ὡς πλεῖστον στόλον εἰς Σικελίαν τε βαδίζειν καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον.*

[3] Diod. 11, 1.

[4] See p. 193, note [5]. It is rendered by the Septuagint *φύλακες*. Vulg. *bellatores*. The parallelism, however, seems to require a proper name, perhaps of some African tribe.

tected their coasts; their neighbours the Jews were for many centuries too feeble to assail them, and at the time of their highest prosperity needed the arts of Tyre too much to place themselves in hostility with her. Syria was divided and feeble, and Lebanon was a barrier against invasion from Damascus. The Sidonians therefore "lived quietly and securely" (Judges, 18, 7), in no danger of aggression, and not seeking any increase of their own territories by land, since maritime colonies afforded them the means of disposing of their redundant population. The rise of the great monarchies on the Euphrates and Tigris, and the extension of their power to the western sea, put an end to this quiet and security, and compelled the Phœnicians to have recourse to mercenary troops, their own narrow territory affording them no means of raising land forces. In the tenth verse of the prophecy of Ezekiel quoted before, it is said, according to the common version, "They of Persia, and of Lud, and of Phut, were in thine army, thy men of war; they hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness." The name *Lud* denotes in Scripture two different nations, the Lydians of Asia Minor and an African tribe[1]; here the latter is probably meant, though the Septuagint and Vulgate understand the Lydians. The *Pheres* of the original have been universally supposed to be the Persians. It is, however, difficult to conceive that the inhabitants of that country, separated from Phœnicia as it was by the hostile empire of Nebuchadnezzar, and the Syrian Desert, should have served to recruit the armies of maritime Tyre. In the historical books of Scripture,

[1] See before, p. 142.

the proper Persis is unknown, and Elam is the name by which that portion of the Persian territory which bordered on the Tigris is designated. It is only in Daniel, and in the prophecy of a power which was to destroy the Chaldæan empire, that the Persians are mentioned. Before the time of Cyrus, they appear never to have quitted the limits of their own insulated country. The Pheres are joined in Ezekiel with the *Phut* or Mauritanians[1], and the *Ludim*, who were nomads of Africa, and we may therefore reasonably suppose that they belong to the same region. Without the vowel points, the name will represent the Pharusii, a powerful and warlike people[2], neighbours of the Phœnician settlements on the Atlantic, which in a later period they destroyed[3]. The command of the sea enabled the Phœnicians to bring mercenary troops from these distant regions; the warlike population of Africa furnished them, as it afterwards did the Carthaginians, with inexhaustible supplies; and a gainful commerce, joined to the possession of the silver-mines of Spain, filled the public treasury and afforded ample means for maintaining the expense of war. The employment of mercenaries has been pointed out as a source of the instability of the national power both of

[1] See p. 137.

[2] Mela, 3, 10. "Pharusii aliquando tendente ad Hesperidas Hercule dites."

[3] Strabo, 17, 826. The similarity of names seems to have given rise to the story related by Sallust (Bell. Jugurth.), that Hercules had led a body of Persians into Africa. "Pharusii quondam Persæ." Plin. H. N. 5, 8. In the Pœnulus of Plautus (5, 2, 50), where Hanno uses the word *Muphursa*, Milphio explains it by *Mures Africanos*. *Mu* evidently answers to the Latin *Mus*, but there is nothing in the sound *phursa* answering to Africanus. I conclude therefore that this word, the consonants of which are the same as those of Pheres and Pharusii, was known at Rome as the Punic for African, answering to Libyan, as opposed to Carthaginian. The animal was the jerboa, which was exhibited as a curiosity in the shows of the ædiles.

Tyre and its colony. In the case of Carthage it proved inadequate to the maintenance of an extended empire, and to a successful struggle with the native valour of Italy; but the strenuous resistance which Tyre offered to the arms of the Assyrians, Babylonians and Greeks, is a sufficient evidence that the national spirit was not impaired[1], though it yielded in the end to an overwhelming superiority of military force.

Even amidst the reproaches which the Jewish prophets address to the Phœnicians for their selfish policy and unjust commercial dealings, we see proofs of the high rank which they held for intelligence and culture among the surrounding nations. "Behold," says Ezekiel (28, 2, 12), addressing the king of Tyre, "thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that can be hidden from thee; by thy wisdom and understanding thou hast gotten thee riches;" "thou art a signet of perfection, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty." The bitter irony with which these praises are bestowed, in order to form a ground of reproach, and afford a contrast to the destruction which was impending over Tyre, reveals the fact, that Tyre was in high reputation for wisdom. In judging of the national character by the language of the Jewish writers, we must remember that we are reading the words of national rivals, to whom Phœnicia was "a pricking brier and a grieving thorn," and who hoped that its trade and its wealth would in the end be appropriated to their own benefit and the maintenance

[1] *Τύριοι φύσει γένος ἐστὶ μαχιμώτατον καὶ κλέος ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ θέλουσι κεκτῆσθαι.* Chariton, 7, 2.

of their national worship[1]. So, when we find that with the Greeks, "Syrian against Phœnician" was a proverbial expression for fraud matched with fraud[2], it must not be forgotten, that the shrewdness of a commercial nation appears in the invidious light of fraud to those who feel themselves at disadvantage in dealing with them. The Dutch in their mercantile character were hated and contemned by the rest of Europe, at the time when Holland was conspicuous for valour, industry, learning and religion. The great seats of maritime commerce were notorious in ancient times, as in modern, for their licentiousness: Asiatic manners have always been luxurious and relaxed. Syria, with which, under the later Greek and Roman power, Phœnicia was very generally confounded, was regarded as a chief source of the corruption of the western world, by introducing effeminacy of manners[3], and a music calculated to inflame the passions[4]. Along with Phœnicia it was in the imperial times a nursery of stage-players, mountebanks, rope-dancers, and musicians[5]. The influence of Asiatic Greece in later times was so great, that the Ionian dress and

[1] Isaiah, 23, 18.

[2] *Σύροι πρὸς Φοίνικας· ἑκάτερα τὰ ἔθνη διαβέβληται ὡς πανοῦργα.* Suid. He adds a more favourable explanation, that these neighbours were always quarrelling. See Philostratus, Heroic. 1. The Greeks had a similar proverb, *ὁ Κρὴς πρὸς Αἰγινήτην*.

[3] Juv. Sat. 3, 62; 8, 159.
"Obvius assiduo Syrophœnix udus amomo
Currit, Idumææ Syrophœnix incola portæ."

[4] Hor. Sat. 1, 2, 1. *Ambubaia* is a Syriac word, from אבובא, a pipe. Compare Athen. 15, 53, where the Phœnician songs are characterized as *καπυρώτεραι*, and [illegible]osed to the *ἐσπουδασμέναι*. licence of Gaditanian manners (Mart. 5, 79) cannot fairly be imputed to Phœnicia, as that city had become first Carthaginian, and afterwards Roman.

[5] Expos. tot. Mund. ap. Huds. Geog. Min. 3, p. 6. The writer lived in the age of Constantine.

Ionian luxury were transplanted thither[1]. Dion Chrysostom reproaches the people of Tarsus as imitating the manners of the Phœnicians rather than the Argives, from whom they claimed to be descended[2]. The Argives of his age, however, bore little resemblance to those by whom Tarsus had been colonized; and the degeneracy which the noble Greek character underwent after the loss of liberty[3], when the name became a synonym for frivolity, presumption and want of principle, should teach us caution in judging of a nation, which, like the Phœnician, we hardly know but in its decline[4].

[1] Philostr. Her. Procem. Σύβαρις Ἰωνικὴ τὴν Φοινίκην κάτεσχεν ὁμοῦ πᾶσαν.

[2] Orat. Tars. prior, p. 406. Πότερον ὑμᾶς Ἀργείων ἀποίκους, ὡς λέγετε, φήσει τις ἢ μᾶλλον ἐκείνων Ἀραδίων; καὶ πότερον Ἕλληνας ἢ Φοινίκων τοὺς ἀσελγεστάτους;

[3] "Grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes,
Augur, schœnobates, medicus, magus; omnia novit
Græculus."—Juv. Sat. 3, 76.

[4] The author of the passage quoted in the last note in the preceding page thus enumerates the characteristics of the principal Phœnician cities: "Laodicæa mittit aliis civitatibus agitatores (charioteers for the Circus) optimos; Tyrus et Berytus, mimarios; Cæsarea, pantomimos; Heliopolis, choraulas. Aliquando autem et Gaza habet bonos auditores, dicitur autem habere eam et pammacharios (pancratiasts); Ascalon, athletas luctatores." He adds, however, "Omnes autem per negotia stant, et viros habent divites in omnibus, et oratione, et opere, et virtute."

CHAPTER XI.

RELIGION.

As the native literature of Phœnicia has entirely perished, we depend for our knowledge of its theology and its ritual on the incidental notices in the works of Greek and Latin writers, or allusions in the books of Scripture, occasioned by the proneness of the Jewish people to adopt the idolatries of their neighbours. The resource of art, which in the case of the Egyptian and Babylonian mythology illustrates or supplies the scanty information afforded by literature, fails in regard to Phœnicia; with the exception of coins and a few idols found in Cyprus, and connected with its local religion, no painting, no works in stone or metal have yet been brought to light, by which we could gain a conception of the form and attributes of the Phœnician gods.

The only systematic account of Phœnician theology which has been preserved is contained in some extracts made by Eusebius in his Evangelical Preparation[1], from the writings of Sanchoniatho. It was the purpose of Eusebius to show, that the Hebrew nation alone had preserved the pure knowledge of the Creator; while all others, and more especially the Phœnicians and the Egyptians, had corrupted religion, first by the worship of the heavenly bodies, and then by mythological histories of the creation and

[1] I. 9, 10.

actions of the gods, by the use of images, dæmon worship and mysteries. Regarding the Phœnicians as the authors of these impieties and the Egyptians as their followers[1], he begins with a statement of their primitive theology, derived, as he professes, from the Phœnician history of Sanchoniatho[2], which had been translated from the original into Greek by Philo of Byblus[3], an author living between the reigns of Nero and Hadrian.

As the object of Eusebius is throughout this work controversial, and his spirit that of an advocate rather than a critic, the genuineness of the extracts which he gives from lost authors, such as Berosus, Artapanus, Eupolemus, and more particularly Sanchoniatho, has been called in question. He has no doubt been deceived in some instances by literary forgeries; but it is incredible that a man, who, as his chronicle testifies, applied an immense erudition and unwearied labour to the elucidation of ancient history, should himself stoop to the forgery of quotations; nor do the quotations justify such a suspicion. The history of Sanchoniatho appears to have been known to men of letters, as it is quoted by Athenæus[4]; nor is there anything incredible in the existence of a treatise on theology and philosophy in the Phœnician language, in the age of Philo. Posidonius, himself a native of Syria, and one of the most learned

[1] Φοινίκων, εἶτα Αἰγυπτίων, ἀπαρξαμένων τῆς πλάνης. Eus. 1, 6.

[2] The work is cited under various titles: Φίλωνος Φοινικικά. Steph. Byz. s. v. Νίσιβις. See p. 169, note[1]. Περὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ φυσιολογίας. Suidas. Probably the same work is meant, but designated according to its different contents.

[3] Called also Herennius Philo Orig. c. Cels. 1, p. 13.

[4] 3, 37. See p. 169 of this volume and note[1]. Critics agree in regarding Suniatho there mentioned as the same with Sanchoniatho. Suniatus occurs as a Carthaginian name. Justin, 20, 5.

men of his age[1], quoted Mochus or Moschus of Sidon as author of the doctrine of atoms; and since he supposed him to have lived before the Trojan war, his writings must have been in his native language. There was a school of Phœnician prophets or hierophants, calling themselves the descendents of Mochus, from whom Pythagoras is said to have received instruction and initiation[2]; and to them we owe probably the metaphysical and theosophic refinements which were grafted on the more material doctrines of the original system.

Nor is there any good reason for supposing that Philo himself forged the nine books which he professed to have translated, and that he falsely attributed them to Sanchoniatho. If he be the same as Herennius Philo, which is generally admitted by critics, he was a man of station and literary character, the author of many works of labour and research[3], in whom therefore we may fairly presume a love of historical truth, which would prevent him from engaging in such a fraud. There is no analogy between this case and the fiction of Euemerus, who professed to have found on monuments in an imaginary island of the southern ocean called Panchæa, inscriptions proving that the heathen deities had all been mortals[4]. The fiction, as palpable as that of Gulliver's Travels, was evidently only a vehicle for the doctrine, and its unreal character was perfectly understood. It was not the cause of the belief that the gods were deified men[5], though it expressed and strengthened that

[1] Strabo, 16, p. 753, 757.

[2] Iambl. de Vit. Pyth. c. 3.

[3] See Smith's Dict. of Biogr. and Myth. s. v. Philon.

[4] Diod. Sic. Ecl. lib. 6. Euseb. Præp. Evang. 2, 2.

[5] Περὶ Θεῶν διττὰς οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς μεταγενε-

belief. The completely anthropomorphic character which mythology had assumed, through the influence of poetry and art, led necessarily to the conception, that the gods had been originally men; and the lapse of time would produce the same effect in Phœnicia as in Greece, though in a less perfect degree, the influence of poetry and art being much more limited. It therefore by no means follows that the history of Sanchoniatho was forged, in order to support the Euemeristic views of mythology, because it yields them a partial confirmation, and was eagerly adopted by a Christian advocate, as an argument against the heathen religions. In fact, of the eight or nine books of which the work of Sanchoniatho consisted, only a small part appears to have had any bearing upon the question of the origin of the gods. Porphyry calls his work a Phœnician History[1], and the part which Eusebius quotes was such a theogonic introduction to the human portion of it, as Diodorus has prefixed to his History of Egypt. It bears no appearance of being written to recommend Euemerism, though it so far coincides with it, that it represents the popular deities of Phœnicia as originally human beings.

Philo, therefore, probably found a work in existence, purporting to have been written by Sanchoniatho, and attributed by common opinion to a native of Berytus or Tyre, who lived, according to the Greek chronology, before the Trojan war, or according to the Asiatic, in the time of Semiramis. But could it really claim this high antiquity? There is no reason why

στέροις δεδώκασιν ἐννοίας. Diod. Sic. u. s. Euemerus extended to the greater gods the hypothesis of a human origin, which had been long admitted in regard to Bacchus, Hercules, the Dioscuri, &c.

[1] De Abstin. 2, 56.

Phœnicia, which either invented alphabetic writing or was one of the earliest nations to adopt it, should not have had a theological literature of as early a date as that of the Jews. But the contents of the work indicate a later origin. Sanchoniatho appears to have been among the Phœnicians, like Confucius among the Chinese, or Orpheus among the Greeks, a venerable name, to which works were attributed, containing no doubt ancient doctrines and traditions, but composed in an age long subsequent to that of the reputed authors[1]. There are many indications in the remains of Sanchoniatho of this later origin.

First among these may be reckoned the obvious design to represent Phœnicia as the source whence other countries had derived their knowledge. The desire to establish such a claim of priority does not belong to those early times in which nations have little intercourse with each other. Then, each cherishes the belief of its own primæval antiquity undisturbed, and regards itself as the origin of all science and art. National rivalry arises at a later period, when travelling, commercial intercourse, and the knowledge of each other's history provoke comparison. It was in the reign of Psammitichus, when foreigners flocked to the ports of Egypt, that the question of the relative antiquity of the Egyptian and Phrygian nations was raised, which he adopted such a singular method for deciding[2]. Throughout the extracts from Sanchoniatho, the desire is obvious to claim precedence for Phœnicia. Here, agriculture, fishing, navigation,

[1] Porph. ap. Euseb. 10, 9. Aristoph. Ran. 1030. Aristot. ap. Cic. N. D. 1, 38. Herod. 2, 53. Lobeck, Aglaophamus, 1, 361.

[2] Herod. 2, 2.

astronomy, metallurgy have their origin. The gods whom other nations worship are natives of Phœnicia. Thoth, the patron of Egyptian science and literature, is claimed as a god for Phœnicia, under the name of Taautus; from him Egypt derives its theology[1], and the Phœnician Cronos travelling into the southern region gives him all that country as a kingdom. Osiris, the inventor of the threefold Egyptian mode of writing[2], comes as a stranger to Phœnicia, and is there taught the doctrine of the mysteries. We cannot receive these statements as history; for if it be safe to pronounce in any case on priority of knowledge and civilization, it is in awarding to Egypt precedence over Phœnicia; but they indicate a predominating purpose in the writer to exalt the antiquity of his country—a purpose intelligible in one, who wrote when the relative ages of nations had become a topic of controversy, but unsuitable to the condition of the world in the early times when Sanchoniatho is supposed to have lived.

Another purpose, which is equally evident, and equally inconsistent with the supposition of a date anterior to the Trojan war, is to maintain the priority of Phœnicia in civilization to Greece, and the derivation thence of Grecian theology. Beginning with Heaven and Earth, all the personages of Greek mythology are referred to Phœnicia as their place of origin. Cronos is a king of Phœnicia and founds Byblus, the frontier town of Phœnicia to the north,

[1] Misor, who is made the father of Taautus, appears to derive his name from Mitsr, the singular of Mizraim, Egypt, though a different etymology is assigned.

[2] Ἴσιρις, τῶν τριῶν γραμμάτων εὑρετής. Sanch. p. 40, ed. Orell.

according to its original limits[1]. Jupiter is Belus; Hercules, Melicarthus; Venus, Astarte; Dione, Baaltis; Apollo and Neptune, sons of Cronos; Athena is invested by her father with the sovereignty of Attica, as he traverses the habitable earth. The Cabiri and Æsculapius, who were honoured both in Egypt and in Greece, are sons of Suduk, the brother of Cronos. Most of these identifications have a high degree of historical probability, Phœnicia and Egypt having been acknowledged by the earliest Greek historian as the native country of the gods of Greece[2]; but this systematic derivation indicates a time, when the claim of higher antiquity on the part of Phœnicia was no longer acknowledged by Greece, and therefore required to be enforced by a detail of evidence. We trace the influence of the same state of things by a comparison of the accounts of Egypt in Herodotus and Diodorus. The former contents himself with a general assertion of the derivation of the Grecian gods from Egypt. Diodorus converts Osiris and Isis, Pan, Apollo, Mercury, Anubis, into sovereigns and warriors, who traverse the world and communicate to Greece the arts and religion of Egypt[3].

A third purpose of the History of Sanchoniatho appears to have been to maintain the priority of the Phœnician worship to the Jewish. To his mention of Jewish history, we owe the introduction of his name into the treatise of Porphyry against the Christians. "The truest account," says he, in a passage quoted

[1] Κρόνος—πρώτην πόλιν κτίζει τὴν ἐπὶ Φοινίκης Βύβλον. Orell. p. 28.

[2] Herod. 2, 49, 50. The Libyans, from whom the Greeks derived the names of Athena and Poseidon, appear to have been Phœnician colonists of Africa. 2, 43. 4, 138.

[3] Diod. Sic. 1.

from that work by Eusebius, "respecting the Jews, as according best with places and names, is that of Sanchoniatho of Berytus, who received his documents from Hierombal, the priest of the god Ievo, and having dedicated his history to Abibal, the king of Berytus, was approved by him, and the inquirers into truth who were about him[1]." The direct references to the Jews or their theology, in this part of Sanchoniatho's work, are few; they were probably more numerous in the proper history, to which the extracts preserved were introductory. Eliun, rendered *supreme*, from whom and his wife Beruth, Heaven and Earth are born, is evidently *El Eliun*[2], the Most High God, whose worship Abraham found established in Palestine on his entrance into that country. The allies of Ilos and Cronos, in their war against Ouranos, are *Eloeim*[3], the Jewish name of God. Another passage betrays still more clearly the purpose of depreciating Judaism[4]. "Cronos, whom the Phœnicians call Israel, being king of the country, and after his death consecrated to the planet Saturn, having an only son, by a nymph of the country, called Anobret[5], whom for this reason they called Ieoud (an only son being still thus named by the Phœnicians[6]), on occasion of some great dangers which had overtaken the country, adorned his son with royal attire, and sacrificed him upon an altar which he had prepared." In the midst

[1] Euseb. Pr. Ev. 10, 9. Sanchon. Orell. p. xx. 1.

[2] אל עליון, Gen. 14, 18. Orell. p. 24. Beruth is formed apparently from ברא, *Creatrix*.

[3] Orell. p. 28.

[4] Orell. p. 42.

[5] The latter part of this word is עברת, "Hebrew," feminine; the first probably עין, *fons*, *νύμφη*. The passage in which this etymology occurs is from another work of Philo's, but is evidently a quotation from Sanchoniatho.

[6] יחיד is the epithet given to Isaac, Gen. 22, 2.

of the strange confusion which this passage exhibits between Abraham and Israel, the motive of representing the progenitor of the Israelites as a king of Phœnicia, and imputing to them the origin of child-sacrifice, is sufficiently obvious. It is also clear that the adaptation of the name Ieoud to this story could only have taken place when *Judæi* had been substituted in common use for Israelites as the national name, that is, not till after the return from the Captivity[1]. In the same passage the origin of circumcision is attributed to Phœnicia[2]. Chna (Canaan) is said to have been the first whose name was changed to Phœnix, a passage which could not have been written but by one who knew that Phœnicia was the Greek name of the country which the natives called Canaan. Such knowledge we can hardly attribute to a priest of Berytus, living before the Trojan war.

From the combination of all these circumstances we seem to be justified in the conclusion that there existed a Phœnician original of the work of Philo of Byblus, but of much later origin than he and Porphyry attributed to it. Porphyry appears to have fixed its age from that of Abibal, king of Berytus, to whom it was dedicated, and who lived, according to the succession of the Phœnician kings, not long after the time of Moses. But as the work, whenever written, was evidently designed to pass for one of high antiquity, the dedication to an ancient king might be only a fiction, like the invocation to Musæus in the Pseudo-Orphean hymns[3]. It is doubtful if the name Sanchoniatho is

[1] In the historical books the name Jew first occurs, 2 Kings, 16, 6. In the prophetic Jer. 32, 12. Joseph. Ant. 11, 5. Ἐκλήθησαν Ἰουδαῖοι ἐξ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνέβησαν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος.

[2] Sanch. Orell. 36.

[3] Hymn. 1.

personal or appellative; it is said to signify in Phœnician, "Lover of the Truth[1]," though no etymology has been offered which affords such a meaning. Supposing it to be a work of the fourth or third century before Christ, instead of the twelfth, it would still be a very valuable record of the Phœnician theology, representing the actual faith and tradition of the nation. This value, indeed, it would not wholly lose, even if it were the work of Philo of Byblus; for in the dearth of information under which we labour respecting the opinions of the non-Hellenic nations, we should receive thankfully an account of them from a Phœnician author of the second century of the Christian æra.

The author of the work professes to have had recourse to two sources of authority. One is the writings of Taut, the inventor of letters, the first who composed historical records, and to whom a work appears to have been ascribed, in which the doctrines of Phœnician cosmogony and theology were systematically set forth. The name of the same divine person appears also to have been employed, in the oriental form of Taut, Thoth, Tat, or in the Greek equivalent, Hermes[2], to give authority to the statements of the recondite doctrines of Egyptian theology. In neither case can any weight be attached by criticism to the name; but though its assumption is a fiction, the statements made with its sanction may be received as evidence of the faith of their authors. It is probable

[1] *Σαγχωνιάθων, κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκων διάλεκτον, φιλαλήθης.* Orell. p. 4. This is the [illegible] of Theodoret, generally [illegible] critics. Eusebius has [illegible]

[2] In the extracts of Stobæus, 1, 52 (vol. 2, p. 932, Heeren), Tat is called the son and successor of Hermes, *τοῦ πάντων ἔργων ὑπομνηματογράφου* (p. 950).

indeed that under this one name, the opinions of different ages may have been brought together, not always in perfect consistency with each other, as in the treatise of Plutarch on the Egyptian theology. The second source was the documents and memorials existing in the different cities of Phœnicia, and the records of the temples, illustrated by the local appellations, and popular histories of the gods, and the mystic rites of their several temples[1]. His work was in the main historical; the theogonic and mythological portion was only preliminary to this, as in the Pentateuch, creation and primæval history introduce the history of the Jewish people. So the annals of the Babylonians, which, according to Berosus, extended backward 150,000 years, contained histories of the heavens, and the sea, and the origin of mankind, and began with a time when there existed nothing but darkness and water[2].

In the Phœnician cosmogony then the beginning of all things was a gloomy and agitated air, and a turbid chaos of thickest darkness, which for a long course of ages was without limit. The beginning of the creation of all things was that this wind (or spirit) became enamoured of its own principles[3], and from this embrace, which was called Pothos (desire), was generated *Mot*, *mud*, according to some, according to

[1] Philo specially mentions "documents composed in the secret characters of the Ammuneans found in the adyta, not intelligible to all." Orelli (p. 6) observes, "*ἐν ἀποκρύφοις* Ἀμμουνέων *γράμμασι*, i. e. חמנים (Lev. 26, 30), *ammunim*, quod alii simulacra exponunt, LXX *τεμένη*, Hieronymus *fana* et *delubra*; *γράμματα* Ἀμμουνέων sunt itaque literæ templorum, literæ in sacris receptæ," probably only archaic letters. See p. 161, note [3].

[2] Berosus, Richter, p. 47, 49.

[3] According to Hieronymus and Hellanicus, Water and Earth were the two First Principles. Damascius apud Cory, Anc. Fragm. 312.

others the putrefaction of a watery mixture. From this mud the universe was produced. The first living creatures were without sensation, and from these again were produced intelligent living creatures, called Zophasemin[1], beholders of the heavens, formed in the shape of an egg. From this *Mot* shone forth the sun and moon, planets and stars; and the air being illuminated, and the earth and sea violently heated, clouds and winds arose, and a profuse fall of water from the heavens. Hence, storms of thunder and lightning, at the sound of which intelligent creatures, male and female[2], awoke and began to move on land and in the sea. These first deified the productions of the earth, and paid them religious homage, by sacrifice and libation, in accordance with the feebleness and timidity of their minds. Next, from the wind *Kol-pia* and his wife *Baau*[3] (which is interpreted Night), the mortals Æon and Protogonos were produced[4]. Æon discovered the art of nutriment from fruit trees; and their children, called Genos and Genea, inhabited Phœnicia, and introduced the worship of the Sun under the name of Beelsamen, the Lord of Heaven.

We have reason to believe this to be a correct representation of the Phœnician cosmogony. The resemblance of the dark and turbid watery chaos, and the moving wind, to the first verses of the Book of

[1] צופי שמים, "watchmen of the heavens." Ovid, Met. 1, 85.

[2] P. 12, ed Orell.

[3] Κολπία is generally understood to be קול פי יה, "the voice of the mouth of Jah," Jehovah, and Βααυ to be the בהו of the Hebrew cosmogony. Gen. 1, 2.

[4] Αἰών appears to be the Οὐλωμός, Eternity, (עולם) of the Sidonian theogony. Damasc. ap. Cory, p. 320. Movers, 1, 262. A similar divinity belonged to the Orphic theology. Zoega, Bassir. ii. 32. According to Macrobius (Sat. 1, 9), the Phœnicians represented the world by a serpent with its tail in its mouth, to denote its reproduction from itself.

Genesis is evident; yet the difference between the flat atheism of the Phœnician[1], and the sublime theism of the Jewish writer, precludes the idea of plagiarism. The introduction of Pothos or Eros as the first moving principle towards the production of the world, is no doubt a very ancient feature of cosmogony, as we find it in Hesiod[2], who being a native of Bœotia, in which we know that Phœnicians settled, may have introduced it, as he has done other oriental notions, into his poems. Eudemus says, that according to Mochus, Æther and Air[3] were the two first principles in the Phœnician mythology, that the Sidonians place as the beginning of all things Chronos, Pothos, and Omichle (Time, Desire, and Mist), and that from the union of Pothos and Omichle came Aer and Aura[4]. These deductions do not exactly accord, nor is exact correspondence to be expected in matters so entirely fanciful, but it is close enough to show that what Sanchoniatho says has a genuine Phœnician character. At the same time it is remarkable that he is free from those metaphysical refinements which later writers engrafted upon the cosmogony[5]. The steps by which the creation of the human race is reached—first,

[1] The atomic doctrine, which, according to Strabo, was taught by the Phœnician Mochus, was entirely atheistic. Cic. N. D. 1, 24. "Flagitia Democriti ex atomis effectum cœlum atque terram, nulla cogente natura, sed concursu quodam fortuito."

[2] Theog. v. 121. Aristoph. 'Ορν. 702.

[3] Pherecydes of Syros made Fire, Wind, and Water to be the threefold offspring of Cronos. Epimenides made Air and Night the two original principles. Acusilaus placed Chaos first, then Erebus as the male, and Night as the female, from which were generated Æther, Eros and Metis (Love and Counsel). These are evidently theories of oriental origin, closely allied to the doctrines of Sanchoniatho. See Cory, 317.

[4] Damascius περὶ τῶν ἄρχων. Cory, Anc. Fragm. p. 319.

[5] See examples of these in the extracts from Damascius, Cory, p. 318, 319. 'Αήρ is the ἄκρατον τοῦ νοητοῦ, Αὖρα, τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κινούμενον τοῦ νοητοῦ ζωτικὸν προτύπωμα. The only thing like this in Sanchoniatho is his explanation of the

things without sensation—then, things intelligent in the form of an egg, without distinction of sex—then, a race feeble in intellect, and finally the progenitors of the Phœnicians, is characteristic of the difficulty with which creation is conceived of as an instantaneous and perfect work, and the propensity to evade this difficulty by the supposition of a gradual development.

The subsequent history of Sanchoniatho relates the birth of three sons to Æon and Protogonus, Light, Fire, and Flame, by whom the use of fire was discovered. They gave birth to a gigantic race[1], whose names were bestowed on the mountains—Casius, Libanus, Antilibanus, and Brathy, and from whom Memrumus and Hypsouranius (if the latter be not merely the Greek rendering of the former) sprung. The progress of the arts is then traced; Hypsouranius fixes his dwelling, which he constructs with reeds and rushes, in the island of Tyre; Usous[2] invents clothing of skins, ventures on the sea on a broken branch of a tree, erects pillars to Wind and Fire, and offers libations of the blood of the animals which he had slain. By others of the same race, in subsequent times, the arts of fishing and fowling, metallurgy, incantation and divination, raft-building and brick-making, hunting with dogs and the keeping of flocks, were found out. Taaut invents writing; the Cabiri, ship-building; and their offspring discover the virtues of simples and remedies against the bites of venomous creatures.

reason why Saturn had two wings on his head, ἓν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡγεμονικωτάτου νοῦ καὶ ἓν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως.

[1] Gen. 6, 4. "In those days men derived their names from their mothers, τῶν τότε γυναικῶν ἀναίδην μισγομένων οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν." Orell. p. 16.

[2] Supposed to be Esau, עשו, "the hairy," who was a hunter; Gen. 27.

Hitherto the history has been occupied with cosmogony and the progress of society, with little or only incidental notice of the gods. The remaining and probably more modern part is an account of all the principal divinities of Phœnicia. In this we see clearly the endeavour to accommodate a theology, which had its real origin in the personification of the elements and the worship of the heavenly bodies, to the theory of the human origin of the gods. And this forced adaptation is not accomplished without inconsistency. The root of the whole race is Eliun, who, with his wife Beruth, dwells near Byblus, the oldest Phœnician town according to Sanchoniatho[1]. From him descends Ouranos (Heaven), who weds his sister Ghe (Earth), and has by her four sons, Ilus (or Cronos), Betulus, Dagon, and Atlas, and three daughters, Astarte, Rhea, and Dione. Cronos, grown to man's estate, deposes his father, and puts to death his own son Sadid and one of his daughters. Ouranos, returning from banishment, is treacherously put to death by Cronos, who afterwards travels about the world, establishing Athena in Attica and making Taut king of Egypt. By this arrangement of Cronos, different deities have their offices assigned to them, and places of abode in Phœnicia. Astarte, Demarous the son of Dagon, and Adod[2] reign over the whole land. Byblus is allotted to Baaltis (Baalith), Berytus to Poseidon and the Cabiri. Taut devises the charac-

[1] See p. 28, Orell.

[2] Adod seems to have been properly a Syrian god, whose name enters into that of the Syrian kings Benhadad. 1 Kings, 20. Macrobius, Sat. 1, 23, identifies him with the Sun, and calls him an Assyrian god, but Syrian and Assyrian were often confounded. The title Adad was borne by the Syrian kings, like Pharaoh or Ptolemy by the Egyptians. Nic. Damasc. ap. Jos. Arch. 7, 5.

teristic forms and symbols of the gods, which the Cabiri and their brother Æsculapius record; and the son of Thabion, the first hierophant of the Phœnicians, allegorizing all these things, and mixing them up with physical and cosmical phænomena[1], delivered them to the *prophetæ* who instituted orgies and initiations. While the claim of Phœnicia to have originated the Orphic and other mysteries is thus asserted, a similar claim is put in as regards Egypt by the concluding statement, that among those to whom in succeeding times these doctrines were taught, was Isiris, the brother of Chna.

We can never hope to arrive by means of historical statements, even of much earlier date than we have reason to assign to this work of Sanchoniatho, at the true origin of a religious system. Except in the case of revelation, religion, being as to its form only a product of the reason, imagination and affections of man, has its roots so far back in his social history, that its origin and import are lost, long before any one feels curiosity to inquire into and record them. All the accounts, therefore, which we have respecting the primary belief and worship of the heathen nations must be received as combinations of tradition, with inferences drawn from the names and forms of deities, the rites practised in their temples, the hymns and prayers in which they were addressed, the tales of which they were the subject, and the etymological significance of their names. No one of these would alone suffice to guide us to the truth, but

[1] Τοῖς τε φυσικοῖς καὶ κοσμικοῖς πάθεσιν, p. 40. So in Pseud-Arist. de Mundo. Εἷς ὢν δ' Θεὸς πολυώνυμός ἐστι, κατονομαζόμενος τοῖς πάθεσι πᾶσιν ἅπερ αὐτὸς νεοχμεῖ.

from their combination we may approximate more nearly to it, than even those who wrote while polytheism was still a living system. We have observed, in speaking of the Egyptian religion[1], that political unity implied in the ancient world a general accordance in the great principles of religious belief, and the recognition of certain presiding deities, in whose rites the whole nation could join; but admitted great varieties of local worship. If this was the case in Egypt, united from the earliest ages under a monarchy and a hierarchy, and secluded from the rest of the world, much more may it be expected in Phœnicia, which was accessible to its neighbours both by land and sea, whose inhabitants confessed themselves not to be indigenous, whose principal cities formed independent sovereignties, and whose population had more extensive intercourse with foreign countries than any other of the ancient world. Still the Phœnician religion had a distinctive national character. The same division of the powers of nature into active and passive principles, symbolized by male and female deities, which appears in the Egyptian theology, is found also in the Phœnician. In the Egyptian, however, these powers are less distinctly connected with the heavenly bodies than in the Phœnician[2]. Osiris was no doubt identified with the Sun, and Isis with the Moon; it is doubtful, however, if these were their primary character; and Kneph, Ptah, and Amun, the oldest of the

[1] Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, 1, 364.

[2] *Φοίνικας καὶ Αἰγυπτίους πρώτους ἁπάντων κατέχει λόγος, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἄστερας θεοὺς ἀποφῆναι.* Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. c. 6. Movers (1, p. 80) attributes to Babylonian influence the astral character of the Phœnician religion. Athanasius (Or. c. Gent.) speaks of the Egyptian and Phœnician gods as entirely different, which was no doubt true in his time.

gods of Egypt, have no astronomical character. But BAAL and ASHTORETH, the two chief divinities of Phœnicia, were unquestionably the Sun and Moon; and the minor deities appear either to have been the same heavenly bodies, or at least to have represented objects of astral worship. The proper title of Baal was, according to Sanchoniatho, *Baalsemen*, Lord of the Heavens, or Sun. The temple of Baalbek, which derived its name from him, was dedicated to the Sun, and called by the Greeks Heliopolis. The chief god of the Babylonians, Bel, was also the Sun. He was the first object of Phœnician worship[1], but his name, which implies dominion[2], became equivalent in use to supreme god, ruler[3]; it is more frequently used with reference to this supremacy than to his original solar character, and the Greeks and Romans considered him as equivalent to their Zeus and Jupiter. The same character of supreme god is indicated by the circumstance that, as an historical personage, Belus is made the first king of Assyria and Phœnicia[4]. On the other hand, as an epithet of dominion it was applied to

[1] *Τὸν ἥλιον ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον, Βεελσάμην καλοῦντες* (בעל שמים), *ὅ ἐστι παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι κύριος οὐρανοῦ, Ζεὺς δὲ παρ' Ἕλλησι*. Sanch. Orell. p. 14. The god of Palmyra is called בעל-שמש, Baal-Sun, in a Palmyrene inscription.

[2] Hence, in Hosea, 2, 16, where the relation between Jehovah and his people is spoken of as that of husband and wife, he says, "Call me *Ishi* (my man), and no more *Baali* (my lord)," the name being odious, even in the sense of husband.

[3] "Cum Saturnus, Jupiter, Cœlus, Uranus ita fabulis sint confusi ut nec Phœbus ipse eos, aut ab iis ipsum se queat satis distinguere, haud amplius hæsitandum est quin ex uno Belo, Baale seu Jove (sub quibus vocibus solem imprimis adorabant) innumeri illi tituli fuerint propagati." Seld. de Dis Syris, Synt. 2, c. 1.

[4] "Belus, primus rex Assyriorum, quos constat Saturnum (quem et Solem dicunt) Junonemque coluisse, quæ numina etiam apud Afros postea culta sunt. Unde et Punica lingua Bal deus dicitur." Serv. ad Æn. 1, 729. Isid. Orig. 8, 11, 23.

other gods, locally regarded as supreme, as *Melkarth* is called *Baal of Tyre* in a Maltese inscription[1], so that it is difficult to keep the character and attributes of Baal, Bel, Belus distinct from those of Cronos, Ouranos, Moloch, who in their turn were identified with the Sun. In process of time, the character of Baal as supreme god so far gained the ascendency over the physical character of the Sun, that we find the latter the object of a separate worship[2]. So, in Egypt, Ra, the physical sun, was worshiped specially at Heliopolis, while Osiris was only so far identified with the sun, as that luminary is the source of life and fertility to the creation. In the Greek mythology Helios was worshiped as a distinct divinity, though Phœbus or Apollo was no doubt originally the sun. The Apollo who is mentioned in the Phœnician colonies, as Utica[3] and Carthage[4], was probably the solar god. Bel or Baal was also identified with the planet Saturn, which, as the highest of the series, presided over the rest, and was therefore their lord or *Baal.*

The Israelites found the worship of Baal already prevailing in the interior of Palestine and the adjacent countries on the east, when they came out of Egypt. The "high places of Baal" are mentioned in the history of Balaam[5], and the generation of Joshua's contemporaries had scarcely been gathered to their fathers, when the people began to serve Baal and Ashtoreth[6], and continued to do so, till Samuel persuaded them to put away their false gods[7]. Other

[1] Judas, Etude Démonstrative, p. 39.
[2] 2 Kings, 23, 5.
[3] Plin. H. N. 16, 40 (79).
[4] Appian, Pun. 8, 127.
[5] Num. 22, 41.
[6] Judges, 2, 13.
[7] 1 Sam. 7, 4.

forms of idolatry, such as the worship of the calf and of Ashtoreth, subsequently made their way among the people; but we find no further mention of Baal till the reign of Ahab, who married Jezebel, a daughter of Ethbaal or Ithobalus, the king of Tyre and Sidon. His worship was formally established by the queen, and the prophets of Jehovah persecuted, till a reaction took place in consequence of the appeal of Elijah, and the priests of Baal were put to death by the people. In the reign of Jehu, his worhipers had again spread so widely, that he exterminated them by an act of treachery, and destroyed the image and temple of the god. Even to the end of the monarchy, however, this idolatry revived, and is the subject of reproach on the part of the prophets. The name being an appellative, has the definite article in the direct construction when used in Scripture of the chief god of Phœnicia; but it is also prefixed in a general sense to the names of various deities: Baal-Phegor, the god of licentiousness; Baal-Zebub, the god of flies, worshiped at Ekron; Baal-Berith, the god of covenants; Baal Tarz, Baal of Tarsus[1]. The plural Baalim appears to be used to denote generally these gods[2], which were but modifications of one conception. The numerous names of places to which Baal is prefixed in Palestinian geography, as Baal-Gad, Baal-Hamon, Baal-Thamar, Baal-Shalisha, indicate the early and wide diffusion of his worship. The same word enters into numerous Phœnician and Car-

[1] Balitho, an epithet of Ammon (Strabo, 834), is probably בעל אתין, "Eternal Lord." Job, 33, 19.

[2] "The children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim and Ashtoreth."

thaginian personal names, given in honour of the god: Ethbaal, Abibal, Agbalos, Hannibal, Asdrubal, Maherbal, Mastanabal, Muthumbal.

We have little information as to the special rites by which Baal was worshiped. High places with groves were devoted to his honour, and his priesthood must have been very numerous, since Jezebel maintained 450 of them. From a passage in the prophet Jeremiah, we find that human sacrifices, which are commonly connected with the worship of Moloch, were also performed in honour of Baal[1]. His votaries celebrated his worship with fanatical rites, invoking him with loud cries[2], and cutting themselves with knives and lancets. We meet with hardly any traces of his worship in the foreign countries which were visited or colonized by the Phœnicians; while those of the worship of Saturn, Hercules, and Venus, are found in all their principal settlements.

The variety of characters attributed to Baal, or Belus, who sometimes represents the male principle in creation, sometimes the sun, and sometimes only the chief of the gods, without special reference to any physical element or function, may explain the various attributes of the great female divinity, "ASHTORETH," or ASTARTE, whom the Greeks sometimes identify with Juno, as they do Baal with Zeus, sometimes with Venus, and who appears physically to represent the Moon. Her relation to Baal was expressed by the feminine form Baalith, which the Greeks changed into Baaltis or Belthes[3]. She was the chief local deity of

[1] Jer. 19, 4, 5. "They have filled this place with the blood of innocents; they have built the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal."

[2] 1 Kings, 18, 28.

[3] Βήλθης· ἡ Ἥρα, ἡ Ἀφροδίτη—

Sidon, as Baal and Melcarth of Tyre; but her worship must have been extensively diffused, not only in Palestine, but in the countries east of the Jordan, as we find Ashtaroth Karnaim (Ashtaroth of two horns) mentioned in the Book of Genesis[1]. This goddess, like other lunar deities, appears to have been symbolized by a heifer, or a figure with a heifer's head, whose horns resembled the crescent moon[2]. The children of Israel renounced her worship at the persuasion of Samuel; and we do not read again of her idolatry till the reign of Solomon[3], after which it appears never to have been permanently banished, though put down for a time by Josiah[4]. She is the Queen of Heaven, to whom, according to the reproaches of Jeremiah[5], the women of Israel poured out their drink-offerings, and burnt incense, and offered cakes, regarding her as the author of their national prosperity. This epithet accords well with the supposition that she represented the Moon, as some ancient authors inform us. Ashera (which our Translators render *grove*, 1 Kings, 18, 19; 2 Kings, 23, 7) has been supposed to be an abbreviated form of Ashtoreth, but is a different deity, whose images were of wood, not fashioned into a human form[6].

Hes. Sanchoniatho makes Baaltis the same as Dione, the mother of Aphrodite, p. 38. Βλάττα, which, according to Lydus de Mens. p. 25, was the Phœnician name of Venus, is the same word, בעלת.

[1] Gen. 14, 5. Under the name of Ashtaroth it appears as the capital of Bashan. Deut. 1, 4. Josh. 12, 4.

[2] Ἡ Ἀστάρτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφάλην ταύρου. Sanch. p. 34. Varro, lib. 4, p. 17, ed. Bip., says that among the Phœnicians she represented the Earth. So the horned Isis was sometimes the Moon, sometimes the Earth. Anc. Eg. 1, 404.

[3] 1 Kings, 11, 5. "Solomon went after Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Sidonians."

[4] 2 Kings, 23, 13.

[5] 7, 18; 44, 25.

[6] Movers, 1, 566.

The name Astarte[1], which is said to be Phœnician, does not appear in the early Greek writers, to whom Aphrodite, Venus Urania, or the Celestial, was the chief goddess of the Phœnicians, and gives us no information as to her primary physical or cosmical character. She was variously identified with the Moon[2], as distinguished from the Sun, or with air and water, as opposite in their qualities to fire[3]. According to Herodotus, the oldest seat of her worship was at Ascalon, whence it was transferred by the Phœnicians to Cyprus and Cythera. He identifies her with the Mylitta of the Babylonians, and the Alitta or Alilat of the Arabians who bordered on Palestine and Egypt[4]. The worship of Mylitta at Babylon was accompanied with rites which indicated the character of the goddess, expressed by the name Mylitta[5]; but as Urania she appears not to have borne the character of voluptuousness[6]. No male was admitted to her temple at Ægira[7]. At Elis there were statues both of Venus Urania and Venus Pandemos. The former, the work of Phidias, had its foot upon a tortoise, the emblem of silence and a domestic life[8],

[1] Ἔνι ἱρὸν ἐν Φοινίκῃ μέγα τὸ Σιδώνιοι ἔχουσι, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Ἀστάρτης ἐστί. Ἀστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἔμμεναι. Luc. de Dea Syr. 4. The priest called her Europa, sister of Cadmus, who was probably also a lunar deity. Höck, Creta, 1, 90. The abduction of Europa was represented in the temple of Astarte. Achill. Tat. 1, init. No satisfactory etymology of the name has been given from the Semitic languages.

[2] Herodian, 5, 15. Λίβυες αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι, Φοίνικες δὲ Ἀστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες.

[3] "Mas, ignis; aqua femina, quod fœtus et ejus humore et eorum junctione sumit Venus. Poetæ de cœlo semen igneum cecidisse dicunt in mare, ac natam e spumeis Venerem, conjunctione ignis et humoris." Varro, lib. 4, p. 19, ed. Bip. Larcher, Culte de Vénus, p. 6.

[4] 1, 105, 131; 3, 8.

[5] From ילד, gigno, pario.

[6] Xen. Symp. c. 8. Χωρὶς ἑκατέρᾳ βωμοί τε εἰσὶ καὶ ναοὶ καὶ θυσίαι, τῇ μὲν Πανδήμῳ ῥᾳδιουργότεραι, τῇ δὲ Οὐρανίᾳ ἁγνότεραι.

[7] Pausan. 7, 26.

[8] Paus. 6, 25. Plut. Præc. Conjug. Luynes, Num. Cypr. p. 24.

the latter on a goat. It was an indication of the antiquity, and at the same time the simplicity of her worship, that her oldest images were stones without any resemblance to the human figure. These rude *fetisches*, under the name of Bætyli, appear to have been the earliest objects of adoration in Asia, and the introduction of them was attributed to Ouranos in the Phœnician mythology. Such was the Venus of Paphos[1], the Cybele of Pessinus[2], the solar god of Emesa, of whom Heliogabalus was priest[3]; the Arabs to the time of Mahomet worshiped Venus under the form of a stone, on which only a head was rudely indicated[4]. This absence of all trace of human art gave occasion to the fable that they had fallen from heaven[5], and in modern times to the theory of their being aeroliths. When the worship of this goddess was first brought to Cyprus from Phœnicia, it was probably still strongly tinctured with its original symbolism; the name represented to the worshiper the great female parent of all animated things, variously conceived of as the Moon, the Earth, the watery element, primæval Night, the eldest of the Destinies The rude genealogy of Hesiod bears traces of this symbolism[6]. In Cyprus the Asiatic and the Hellenic

[1] Tac. Hist. 2, 3. "Simulacrum Deæ non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum, metæ modo, exsurgens." Max. Tyr. Diss. 38. Such a conical stone has been found in the shrine of a temple of Venus on the island of Gozo. Gerhard, Kunst der Phœn. pl. ii.

[2] Liv. 29, 14.

[3] Herodian, 5, 5.

[4] Larcher, Culte de Vénus, p. 28

[5] Acts, 19, 35, with Wetstein's note, where other instances are given. Of the origin of the bætylia from aeroliths, see Munter, Antiq Abh. p. 254. The smaller ones, which the priests of Cybele wore at their girdles, were probably fossil *belemnites*, which, as their name indicates, were supposed to be thunderbolts.

[6] Ὡς φέρετ' (τὰ Οὐράνου μήδεα) πουλὺν χρόνον· ἀμφὶ δὲ λευκός
Ἀφρὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτου χροὸς ὤρνυτο· τῷ δ' ἐνὶ κούρη
Ἐθρέφθη· πρῶτον δὲ Κυθήροισι ζαθέοισιν
Ἔπλετο· ἔνθεν ἔπειτα περίῤῥυτον ἵκετο Κύπρον.—Theog. 190.

elements met, and, under the plastic power of the Hellenic fancy, the foam-born goddess became the queen of love, the mother of Cupid, the source of all life, beauty and grace[1], engrafted into the Olympian genealogy as the daughter of Jupiter and Dione[2]. Her worship in this island became more and more Hellenized, as the Greek population gained upon the Phœnician; and, like that of Mylitta, of the Syrian goddess, and of the Venus of Aphaca and Byblus, degenerated into licentiousness. But besides the primitive emblem of the conical stone on the coins of Cyprus, other circumstances indicated the original character of the Celestial Goddess. She was worshiped in an androgynous form[3], alluding to the mixture of the two principles, active and passive, in the elements of the world; armed[4] and a virgin, like Minerva, who was probably the same deity, widely as their attributes afterwards diverged[5]. Carthage derived its worship of the Celestial Goddess immediately from Phœnicia; she was a virgin with martial attributes[6], worshiped with severe, not licentious rites[7]. Dido, the alleged founder of Carthage, was probably identical with the Celestial Goddess in her origin, and her synonym Elissa appears to be Elith, the feminine form of El[8].

[1] Hes. Theog. 204.

[2] Hom. Il. ε', 381.

[3] Engel, Kypros, 2, 229. Servius, Virg. Æn. 2, 632. Macrob. Saturn. 3, 8. "Philochorus Venerem affirmat esse Lunam et ei sacrificium facere viros cum veste muliebri, mulieres cum virili, quod eadem et mas existimatur et femina." To such practices among the nations of Palestine, the prohibition, Deut. 22, 5, refers.

[4] Pausan. 2, 4; 3, 15, 23. Ἔγχειος Ἀφροδίτη. Κύπριοι. Hes.

[5] Julius Firmicus Maternus, quoted by Larcher, Culte de Vénus, p. 10.

[6] Münter, Religion der Carthager, c. 6. Hence she was considered generally as Juno.

[7] This had ceased to be the case in later times. Aug. de Civ. Dei, 2, 4. "Cœlesti Virgini et Berecynthiæ Matri deorum—cantitabantur a nequissimis scenicis qualia nec matrem ipsorum scenicorum deceret audire."

[8] Διδὼ—ἡ καὶ Ἔλισσα καλουμένη

Herodotus assigns Ascalon as the seat of the worship of Venus Urania, and the place whence it was transferred to Cyprus and Cythera. It has been generally supposed therefore that she was the same with Atargatis or Derketo, who had a temple and lake near that city[1]. He gives no intimation, however, that Urania had the peculiarity of Atargatis, whose upper half represented a beautiful woman, the lower a fish. Nor was the Urania of Cyprus and Greece so represented. Atargatis corresponded with Venus, inasmuch as she denoted the watery element, but by a different symbol, and one which leads us to connect her more immediately with the Babylonians, according to whose legends, Oannes, a being half man, half fish, came every morning from the Erythræan Sea, and instructed their progenitors in legislation and the arts of life[2]. In her attributes Atargatis resembled the Babylonian Mylitta. The mythic queen Semiramis, called her daughter, was only the goddess under another name[3], and in a human form. The boundless indulgence of her passions sufficiently characterizes her supposed parent. Fish were consecrated to Venus, and were forbidden to her worshipers[4], a prohibition for which, when its symbolical reference to the form of the goddess was forgotten, various legendary causes were assigned. The dove, as an emblem of love and

καὶ Ἄνα. Eust. ad Dion. Per. 195. See p. 174.

[1] Diod. Sic. 2, 4. Τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἔχει γυναικὸς, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν ἰχθύος. Luc. de Dea Syr. 14. See her figure on the coins of Ascalon. Eckhel, D. N. V. 3, 444.

[2] Berosus, p. 49, Richter.

[3] Trans. of Lit. and Phil. Soc. of Manchester, vol. 3, second series, where the mythic character of the earliest Assyrian history is shown. Nothing has yet been discovered to confirm the existence of an historical Semiramis. Her supposed inscriptions at Baghistan are of the Persian times.

[4] Manil. 4, 580. Ovid, Fasti, 463. This prohibition Artemidorus, Oneir. 1, 9, attributes to the worshipers of Astarte.

fruitfulness, was consecrated to Venus under all her different names, at Babylon, in Syria, Palestine, and Greece. Semiramis, according to the legend, was changed into a dove[1].

If idolatry be defined the worship of false gods, the Phœnicians were certainly idolaters; but in the sense of image-worship, this name is less applicable to them than to the Egyptians, Assyrians, or Greeks. Their temples appear generally to have contained either no visible representation of the deity, or only rude symbols. Their religion is reprobated in the Scriptures, but rather for its cruelty than its licentiousness. Astarte and Urania do not appear to have been worshiped originally with wanton rites. It was from Babylon, and the worship there of the goddess Mylitta, that the corruption of morals began, which tainted the worship of Venus in Syria, Phœnicia, and Cyprus, with an impurity which did not originally belong to it. Even in Babylon, where no woman, of whatever rank, could escape the obligation of once prostituting herself in the temple of Mylitta, the custom seems to have originated in superstition; for this debt once acquitted, as the necessary preliminary to marriage, they were ever after faithful to its obligations, with whatever price they might be tempted[2]. Such a custom, however, could not exist without degenerating into gross corruption, especially among a people remarked for the strength of their passions[3], and in a city which was so great a resort of strangers.

[1] Diod. Sic. 2, 20.

[2] Herod. 1, 199. Τὠπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψεαι. Contrast with this the account of the Lydian women, 1, 93.

[3] See the Scholiast on Juven. 1, 104, who quotes from Sallust's lost history of the Mithridatic War, "Mesopotameni homines effrenatæ libidinis sunt," (ut Sallustius meminit,) "in utroque sexu."

Bambyce or Hierapolis in northern Syria, between Aleppo and the Euphrates, was another celebrated seat of the worship of the great Syrian goddess, who was variously considered as Atargatis, Venus, Rhea, Juno, Themis, Minerva, the Parcæ, and the constellation Virgo[1], and might be fairly identified with them all, inasmuch as they all resolve themselves into one great female divinity. The custom of fetching water from the sea, twice in the year, to the temple, the abstinence from fish, and the tradition of its foundation by Deucalion, indicate, however, that it was originally dedicated to the sea-born goddess. The rites of the temple had been mixed, in later times at least, with the frantic orgies of Cybele and the self-mutilation of the Galli[2].

The worship of Venus on Mount Lebanon, and in the adjacent town of Byblus, appears to have been the immediate source of that licentiousness which overspread the island of Cyprus, and diffused its influence into Greece. It had its origin in Assyria[3], and made its way probably from Hierapolis first to Lebanon, and then to the coast. Aphaca, which was said to take its name from the history of Adonis[4], stood amidst the romantic scenery of Lebanon, near

[1] See the Inscription found near Hadrian's Wall, Bruce, p. 412. Such unions of various characters in one deity are usually attributed to *syncretism*, i. e. the disposition manifested in the later ages of polytheism to fuse distinct deities into one, and combine their symbols; but there was a foundation for it in the original unity of the great male and female divinity.

[2] See the story of Combabus, Luc. de D. Syr. cap. 20.

[3] *Succoth Benoth*, "the tents of the daughters or maidens," said (2 Kings, 17, 30) to have been constructed by the colonists from Babylon, are supposed to have been places of prostitution for the worship of Mylitta. Sicca Venerea, in the territory of Carthage (Val. Max. 2, 6), derived a similar custom from Sicily. Solin. c. 27.

[4] Etym. Mag. s. v. Ἄφακα. Aphak in Syriac signifies to embrace. See Boch. 2, 749.

the source of the river of Byblus, about seven miles eastward from Byblus in the direction of Baalbek[1]. On a certain day of the year a globe or star of fire was supposed to dart from the summit of Lebanon into the river, representing Urania[2]. On Lebanon Adonis had been wounded by the boar, and the stream near which the temple stood was annually reddened by his blood. The women of Byblus came hither to lament over his death; and the temple was founded by his reputed father Cinyras[3]. Many of the physical and cosmical legends which the Greeks received from Egypt or the East have been so hidden by the luxuriant growth of their own imaginations, that it is difficult to distinguish their original meaning, while in others names of deities have been so completely converted into historical personages, that they can hardly be restored to their true and primary sense. The fable of Adonis, however, came late into the West[4], and was less completely metamorphosed, and its original meaning is not doubtful. The name, which signifies *Lord*, was one of those titles of royalty, like Baal and Moloch, which the Semitic nations gave to the Sun as the supreme god, the king of heaven. Being the source of life to the physical world, his departure from the upper hemisphere in winter was mourned as a temporary death; his return to it, being a new birth, was the occasion of rejoicing. This idea appears in various forms in the mythology of Egypt,

[1] Zos. 1, 58, says *μέσον* Ἡλιουπόλεως τε καὶ Βύβλου, i. e. an intermediate position.

[2] Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. 2, 5.

[3] Lucian de D. S. c. 9. He calls it one of the most ancient temples of Syria.

[4] The name Adonis does not occur in Homer, nor in the extant works of Hesiod; but according to Apollodorus (3, 14), he called him the son of Phœnix and Alphesibœa.

Syria, and Asia Minor. Venus stands in the same relation to Adonis, as Isis to Osiris. She is disconsolate in her temporary widowhood; and her female votaries, sympathising with her, lament for Adonis, slain by the boar, the emblem of the rude, ungenial winter. The temple of Aphaca was specially consecrated to this mourning Venus, and she was represented with the air and habit of grief, her head veiled, her countenance sad, her hands wrapped in her robe[1]. In commemoration of his death the women rushed frantically about, beating their bosoms. This mourning, which took place at midsummer[2], from which time the sun begins to descend among the wintry signs, was performed by the Syrians in Lebanon, but imitated elsewhere by the votaries of Adonis. "Women weeping for Tammuz," the Hebrew name of this divinity (and of the month of June and July), were among the abominations which Ezekiel in his vision[3] saw practised by the women of Judah in the northern gate of the Temple at Jerusalem[4]. The mourning concluded with the interment of the image of the god. On the following day he was supposed to return to life, and his image was brought from its place of concealment into the open air with every circumstance of rejoicing. The women, who had gone with dishevelled locks during the mourning, cut off their hair; or if any one refused,

[1] Macrob. Sat. 1, 21.

[2] The time of the celebration appears to have varied between the summer solstice and autumn. See Movers, 1, p. 210. According to another view, Adonis was the spring, killed by summer's heat. Lyd. de Mens. 4, 44.

[3] Ezek. 8, 14. The commentary of Jerome (Op. 4, 778) fixes the mourning for Tammuz to the month of June. Tammuz was the fourth month of the Jewish year, which began in March or April.

[4] Milton, Par. Lost, 1, 455.

she was compelled to prostitute herself for a day to strangers, and from her hire a sacrifice was performed to Venus[1]. The attributes of the goddess, the remoteness of the spot from observation[2], the wild excitement of religious frenzy in which other passions are so easily roused, produced a constantly increasing corruption in the rites of Aphaca; and when abolished by Constantine, they exhibited every species of abomination which characterized the license of pagan worship[3].

According to one account, Cinyras, the father of Adonis[4], was king of Byblus; to another, a Cyprian king, founder of the temple of Venus at Paphos, and the progenitor of the race of the Cinyradæ, her hereditary priesthood. The name was probably derived from the Semitic *kinour*, a musical stringed instrument, which, having a mournful sound, was employed in the lament for the lost Adonis. The Phœnicians used for this purpose a short pipe, of a wild and melancholy tone, which was called Gingras, and this name was transferred to the god himself; as Linos, properly the string of the lyre, employed in the same or a similar lament, of Phœnician origin, practised in Cyprus and Bœotia, was given to the mysterious being, whose death the strain so called commemorated[5]. The name had early been converted into a person, an ancient hero or king, Cinyras, to whom, as representing Phœnician population and Phœnician rites, the inventions of Phœnician skill were attri-

[1] Luc. de D. S.

[2] Euseb. Vit. Const. 3, 55. Ἦν ἔξω πάτου, τριόδωντε καὶ λεωφόρων ἐκτός.

[3] Eus. Vit. Const. ubi supra.

[4] Panyasis (Apoll. 3, 14) called Adonis the son of Theias, king of Assyria (Syria), who is also represented as the father of Cinyras.

[5] Kenrick's Egypt of Herodotus, 2, 79.

buted[1]. As, however, Cyprus had a very miscellaneous population, different tribes were desirous to claim for themselves the founder of the most ancient and wealthy temple on the island, and the Greeks and Asiatics devised genealogies, connecting Cinyras with their own mythology and history[2]. The name Aeria, which the Greeks gave to the goddess, and which had been converted into a king Aerias, had a similar signification with Urania; it has been already observed that the form under which she was worshiped was indicative of high antiquity; the prohibition to stain her altar with blood leads to the same inference[3]. But with these primitive rites and traditions others had been mixed in the course of ages; and when Titus consulted the oracle, many victims were slain. The goddess, no doubt, had many altars[4]; and while the simple, ancient custom was kept up at that which was more immediately appropriated to her in her primitive character, at others a more modern ritual prevailed.

Tacitus speaks of three principal temples on the island, two dedicated to Venus, one to Jupiter. The most ancient, that of Paphos, was founded by Aerias, the next, that of the same goddess at Amathus, founded by a son of Aerias[5]. There can be no question that this also was of Phœnician origin; and from a passage in Catullus it has been inferred that it was here Venus was specially worshiped as a representative of both

[1] See p 76

[2] See Apollod. 3, 14

[3] Engel, Kypros, 2, 101. Tac Hist 2, 3.

[4] Virg. Æn. 1, 415.

"Ipsa Paphum sublimis abit, sedesque revisit
Læta suas; ubi templum illi centumque Sabæo
Ture calent aræ, sertisque recentibus halant."

[5] Steph. Byz. says Amathusa was mother to Cinyras.

sexes[1]. We may infer a close resemblance to the rites of Byblus and Aphaca from the circumstance that Adonis, as worshiped at Amathus, was identified, like the same god at Byblus, with the Egyptian Osiris[2]. Malica, another deity worshiped at Amathus[3], is evidently Phœnician. The worship of Venus must have been long established in Cyprus, before the Greeks began to colonise the island. Homer not only calls the goddess by the name of Cypris, but in the Odyssey represents Paphos as the seat of her worship[4]. With regard to the other towns in which it prevailed, Golgos, Idalium, Tamasus, it is more difficult to discriminate between the Phœnician and the Hellenic element. Tamasus, from its valuable copper-mines, would probably be an early settlement of the Phœnicians, as it was an ancient seat of the worship of Venus[5]. Salamis, though chiefly celebrated for the temple of the Grecian Jupiter, was a Phœnician foundation; some of its coins have an inscription in Phœnician letters[6]. The great development which the worship and mythology of Venus received in Cyprus was owing partly to the plastic fancy of the Greeks, partly to the soil and climate, remarkable for their genial qualities. What Claudian says of one spot,

[1] Catullus, 68, 51.

> "Nam mihi quam dederit *duplex Amathusia* curam
> Scitis, et in quo me corruerit genere."

[2] Steph. Byz. See p. 74, note [1]. Pausan. 9, 41.

[3] Heysch. s. v.

[4] Od. θ', 363.

[5] Catullus, 64, 96. Ovid, Metam. 10, 644.

> "Est ager, indigenæ Tamaseum nomine dicunt,
> Telluris Cypriæ pars optima, quem mihi prisci
> Sacravere senes."

Τάμασος πόλις Κύπρου, διάφορον ἔχουσα χάλκον. Steph. Byz.

[6] Luynes, Num. Cypr. p. 28.

dedicated especially to Venus, might be applied to the southern side of the island[1].

> "Hunc neque canentes audent vestire pruinæ,
> Hunc venti pulsare timent, hunc lædere nimbi.
> Luxuriæ Venerique vacat. Pars acrior anni
> Exulat, æterni patet indulgentia veris."

Here, too, the licence which characterized the worship of Mylitta prevailed. Ovid refers the origin of prostitution to Amathus[2]. Herodotus says that in some parts of Cyprus a similar custom was practised to that of the Babylonian women[3]. The ports of this island were an early resort of strangers; and like Sardes, Naucratis, and Corinth, became, for that reason, celebrated for the number and beauty of their courtezans. To the temples of Venus in Asia, and in later times in Greece, large bodies of *hierodulæ* were attached, who were at once prostitutes and ministers to the goddess[4]. Corrupting as such a combination must always have been, and tending constantly to more undisguised licentiousness, it is evident that in its origin it had a religious significance. The daughters of the most illustrious families in Armenia passed from the service of the goddess Anaitis into matrimony with those of equal rank, and no stain adhered to them from their former mode of life[5]. We find traces of the same usage in the distant settlements of the Phœnicians, on Mount

[1] Nupt. Hon. et Mariæ, 52.

[2] Metam. 10, 240.

[3] Her. 1, 199. According to Justin (18, 5), the prostitution of the Cyprian maidens for a single day was a religious rite, preceding matrimony, and followed by a chaste life, as at Babylon. Herod. 2. 135.

[4] The character of Corinth is notorious. Strabo, p. 378, 559. He calls Comana, "a minor Corinth."

[5] Strabo, 11, p. 532.

Eryx[1] and at Sicca Veneria, in the Carthaginian territory[2].

The Greek and Latin writers mention CRONOS, or SATURN, as one of the principal Phœnician and Carthaginian deities. As father of Jupiter, he had a definite place and history in classical mythology, though there are few traces of his independent worship. But it is by no means certain what specific name of the Phœnician mythology answered to the Cronos of the Greeks. According to Sanchoniatho[3], it was Il; according to Damascius, the Phœnicians and Syrians called Saturn, El, Bel, and Bolathen[4]; but Il or El are the Hebrew El, *god*, Bal is a general name for the supreme divinity, and Bolathen a combination of Bal with some epithet[5]. We do not obtain, therefore, from this account any specific name. The most characteristic circumstance which we learn concerning him, is that the human sacrifices of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians were specially performed in his honour. "The Phœnician history of Sanchoniatho," says Porphyry, "is full of instances, in which that people, when suffering under great calamity from war, or pestilence, or drought, chose by public vote one of those most dear to them, and sacrificed him to Saturn[6]." It is remarkable that in the fragmentary history preserved to us of Phœnicia proper, we find no mention of such a sacrifice; but

[1] See p. 104, of the worship of Venus on Mount Eryx.

[2] Val. Max. 2, 15. "Siccæ est fanum Veneris, in quod se matronæ conferebant, atque inde procedentes ad quæstum dotes corporis injuria contrahebant, honesta nimirum tam inhonesto vinculo conjugia juncturæ." The author here uses *matronæ* in the sense of women of family, betrothed, but unmarried.

[3] Ἶλον, τὸν καὶ Κρόνον. p 26, Orell.

[4] Phot. p. 1050, ed Hoesch.

[5] The same as Balitho. See page 300.

[6] De Abstin. 2, 56

in the siege under Alexander it was proposed to revive a custom suspended for many ages, and sacrifice a boy to Saturn. The elder men interposed and prevented it[1]. That such a practice had prevailed in Phœnicia in earlier times is certain. Its existence in Palestine is at once indicated and condemned in the history of Abraham, and we know that it prevailed in the circumjacent tribes[2]. We trace it in the Phœnician colonies in Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, and Sardinia[3], where it was derived from the Carthaginians, and above all in Carthage itself An unusual number of victims, of the choicest quality, were sacrificed here, on occasion of any extraordinary calamity: after the victory of Agathocles, two hundred noble youths are said to have been slaughtered[4]. But it was also a part of the established ritual of the Carthaginians, and every year a youthful victim was chosen by lot[5].

Infants were burnt alive, and their sacrifice had a special significance. The most acceptable offering of all was that of an only child[6]. The image of Saturn, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus[7], was of brass; the stretched-out hands were hollow, turned upwards so as to receive the body of the child, which thence slid down into a fiery receptacle below. Mothers brought

[1] Quint. Curt. 4, 15.

[2] Micah, 6, 7. 2 Kings, 3, 27; 17, 31

[3] Movers, 1, 299–305. Schol. Od. υ', 301. In Italy, it was said, men had been offered to Saturn by being precipitated into the Tiber; and when Hercules abolished the custom, a shadow of it was retained, by throwing an image of bulrush into the water. Ovid, Fasti, 5, 629.

[4] Lact. Inst. 1, 21, quoting Pescennius Festus.

[5] "Mos fuit in populis, quos condidit advena Dido
Poscere cæde deos veniam ac flagrantibus aris
(Infandum dictu!) parvos imponere natos.
Urna reducebat miserandos annua casus."—Sil. It. 4, 765

[6] Euseb. Laud. Const. 1, 4.

[7] 20, 14.

their infants in their arms, and as any manifestation of reluctance would have made the sacrifice unacceptable to the god, stilled them by their caresses till the moment when they were thrown into the flames[1]. Human sacrifices were not offered to one god only, nor to one specially answering to the Saturn of the Greeks and Romans; but as he was reputed to have devoured his own children, it was natural that, in witnessing the sacrifice of infants, they should call the god to whom they were offered, Saturn. Chiun, mentioned by Amos (5, 26) as an object of idolatrous worship to the Israelites, is no doubt the planet Saturn, the name being so used in Syriac and Arabic, but it does not appear that he was worshiped with infant sacrifices. Chemosh, the "abomination of the Moabites," has been also identified with Saturn[2]; and on the other hand, Saturn was presumed to be worshiped where human sacrifices were known to have anciently prevailed, as in Italy[3], in aboriginal times.

The Scriptures of the Old Testament are full of allusions to these bloody rites, and it may be inferred from them that they belonged not exclusively to the worship of one god. "They have filled this place," says the prophet Jeremiah (19, 4, 5), "with the blood of innocents; they have built the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal."

[1] According to Tertullian (Apol. 9), the practice continued till the proconsulate of Tiberius, who hanged the priests on the trees of their sacred grove.

[2] Winer, Bibl Worterb. s. v.

[3] Dionys. Hal. 1, 38. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ Κρόνῳ τοὺς παλαιοὺς, ὥσπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι, τέως ἡ πόλις διέμεινε· καὶ παρὰ Κελτοῖς εἰς τόδε χρόνου γίνεται, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἐθνῶν. Human sacrifices were abolished at Rome A.U C. 657 (B.C. 87). Plin. H N 30, 3.

The mention of human sacrifices, however, is generally connected in Scripture with the name of Moloch or Milcom, the god of the Ammonites. His statue, as described by the Rabbinical writers, closely resembled that of Saturn in Diodorus, but had none of the characteristics of the Greek and Roman Saturn The head was that of a bull,—a form under which, from the story of Europa and the Minotaur, it is probable the chief god of Phœnicia was represented; the body human, and the stretched-out hands received the child, which was consumed in the fire kindled below, while the beating of a tabret by the priests drowned its cries[1]. According to the common interpretation of the passage of Amos, the Israelites had worshiped Moloch even in the desert: the Mosaic law denounced the punishment of death against any one who should give his seed to Moloch[2]. We do not read of it, however, among the idolatries of Israel in the interval between the occupation of the land of Canaan and the reign of Solomon, who introduced "Moloch, the abomination of the children of Ammon," along with the Sidonian Ashtoreth, and Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, into Jerusalem. The valley of Tophet, or of the son of Hinnom[3], just beyond the limits of the city near the eastern gate[4], was the place in which the bloody rites were celebrated from the time of Solomon till that of Josiah, by whom the place was defiled, being appointed as a receptacle for the filth of the city[5] and the carcases of dead animals, to consume which a per-

[1] Jarchi ad Jerem 7, 31, quoted by Winer, s. v.

[2] Levit. 20, 2-5.

[3] Tophet, תפת, from תוף, *tympanum*, the tabret beaten during the sacrifice.

[4] Jer. 19, 2.

[5] 2 Kings, 23, 10.

petual fire was kept up[1]. We do not find that these sacrifices to Moloch were reserved for any special occasion of national calamity; they appear to have been, like those of Carthage, of regular occurrence. Young children alone were the victims, and were regarded as a propitiatory offering on behalf of their parents[2]. Their sacrifice is generally described in Scripture by the phrase "to be passed through the fire to Moloch," and hence it has been supposed that they were not really consumed, but symbolically passed through the flames, that they might undergo a lustration by fire[3]. The same word which is used in the original is also applied in Scripture to the devotement of the first-born to Jehovah, who in the case of human beings were redeemed, but of the lower animals, sacrificed[4]. "To be passed to Moloch through the fire," might therefore signify no more than to be devoted to him by this ceremony; which Theodoret mentions as still existing in his time. The comparison of Jeremiah 7, 31 with 32, 35 shows, however, that "to pass through the fire" was equivalent to "burn;" it is unquestionable that human victims were offered by fire to the gods of Palestine, and the strong abhorrence with which the rites of Moloch are spoken of in Scripture is hardly reconcilable with the supposition of a mere harmless ceremony. The truth appears to be, that two motives, an expiatory offering and a

[1] See the commentators on Matth. 5, 22.

[2] Euseb. Laud. Const. c. 13, where many examples of human sacrifices are enumerated.

[3] In Deut. 18, 10, where we read, "There shall not be among you one that makes his son to pass through the fire," the Seventy read περικαθαίρων τὸν υἱὸν ἐν πυρί. See Spencer, Leg. Heb. 2, 10, 2. The *Beltane* fire of the Celtic nations appears to have had a purifying virtue.

[4] Exod. 13, 12. "Thou shalt *cause to pass* unto Jehovah all that openeth the matrix."

religious consecration, were blended in the sacrifice of infants to Moloch, and the readiness, and even joy, with which mothers brought them to his altars seems inexplicable, except on the supposition that they believed themselves to be securing their children's eternal happiness, by this sacrifice of natural feeling.

The gods whom we have hitherto mentioned belonged to Phœnicia generally; MELKARTH was the especial and tutelary god of Tyre, by the diffusion of whose colonies his worship was carried far and wide over the ancient world. His name, which denotes "king of the city," indicates this peculiar character[1]. Under the slightly altered form of Melicertes, he appears in the Greek mythology with the attributes of a maritime divinity, and the synonym of Palæmon, or "the wrestler," an epithet of Hercules[2]. A worship so extended as that of Hercules was naturally modified in the different countries to which it was carried, and Herodotus could explain the variations between the Greek and the Egyptian only by the supposition that there were two, a god and a deified hero. In the age of Cicero[3] it was necessary to suppose the existence of six, to explain the legends which mythologists had brought together from various countries. The original conception, however, appears to have been the same, but the poetical imagination of the Greeks adorned it with so many fables, bearing the character of human adventures, that the god was ultimately transformed into a man. The Egyptians worshiped Hercules as one of their great gods; but when Herodotus visited Tyre in search of information

[1] See p. 172. Μελίκαρθος, ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. Sanchon. p. 32, Orell.

[2] Lycophr. 662, Schol. Tzetz.

[3] N. D. 3, 16.

respecting him, he found no trace of an imported worship. Nor have the discoveries in Egyptian theology thrown any light upon the relation between the Phœnician and the Egyptian god. The later pagans considered Hercules as the Sun[1], and the number of his twelve labours appears to have been fixed with an astronomical reference; but few, if any, of them have an astronomical origin. Those which relate to Egypt and Africa have evidently originated in the events of Phœnician colonization or commercial intercourse, considered from the Greek point of view, according to which Greece was the source and centre of all his undertakings—the scene of his birth and his apotheosis. Wherever the Phœnicians had established his worship, there the Greeks supposed the Theban hero to have made an expedition and performed some exploit, by which he proved himself superior to the native gods and heroes of the country. In Egypt he kills Busiris; from the gardens of the Hesperides he carries off the golden apples; under the name of Maceris he conquers Sardinia at the head of a host of Libyans[2]; he vanquishes Antæus, the guardian of the Libyan deserts; assumes the functions of Atlas in supporting the heavens, establishes his Pillars at the Straits, and drives off the herds of Geryones from Erytheia. In all these countries the Phœnicians had

[1] Macrobius, 1, 20. "Sacrorum administrationes apud Ægyptios multiplici actu multiplicem dei asserunt potestatem, significantes Herculem esse τὸν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ διὰ πάντων ἥλιον." They said that he travelled through the zodiac with the Sun. Plut. Is. et Os. c. 41. Like the Sun, he passes from the West to the East in a golden cup. Pherecydes ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1396.

[2] See p. 112. Pausan. 10, 17. "Great Lord Mokar," occurs on an inscription found in the territory of the African Tripolis, and preserved in the British Museum. Gesen. Mon. Pun. p. 217. Siga, the capital of Syphax, has on its coins "Siga, city of Mokar." Ges. p. 324.

established themselves, long before Greek mythology had been developed into form, and therefore we cannot hesitate in attributing these legends to the characteristic desire of the Greeks to appropriate everything to themselves. Nor is it unlikely that some of the labours of Hercules in Greece, in clearing the country and exterminating wild beasts, may represent the influence of Phœnician civilization; or that his descent into Hades was suggested by the establishment of his worship in the extreme West, and on the verge of the unseen world[1]. In Asia Minor and Assyria[2] there were also traditions of the adventures of a being of gigantic stature and supernatural strength, named Sandan, Sardos or Sandoces, and these were interwoven into the history of the Grecian Hercules[3].

According to the original conception, Melkarth was probably only another form of Baal[4]. That his worship was of very high antiquity may be inferred from the circumstance that in his temple at Gades no image of the god appeared, and that his symbol was an ever-burning fire. This fire appears on the coins of Tyre in the age of Severus, along with the figure of the Grecian Hercules, with the club and lion's skin. The exclusion of women from the sacerdotal function, the abhorrence of swine, the garments of white linen, and the shaven heads of the priests, indicate affinity to the

[1] See before, p. 123.

[2] Agathias, 2, 24, says Persia—an obvious anachronism.

[3] Müller, Rhein. Mus. 1832, p. 22. A figure in combat with a lion is common on the Assyrian monuments. See Layard, Nineveh and Babylon.

[4] Cicero, N. D. 3, 16, says the Tyrian Hercules, whose daughter was Carthago, was the son of Jupiter and Asteria, i. e. Baal and Ashtaroth. There was a festival at Tyre (Jos. Ant. 8, 5) called "the awakening of Hercules," which seems connected with his solar character.

Jewish and Egyptian rites[1]. It does not follow, however, that there was no visible symbol of the god, except the fire, as the Phœnicians even in late times worshiped their deities under the image of the unshaped stones, called Bætyli, or Abaddir, which we have already described[2]. Almost every god had a special Bætylus[3], and the same name was given to the unformed stone, which Rhea passed off on Saturn as his son Jupiter[4]. These stones, which were sometimes inscribed with obsolete or mystic characters, were supposed to be inhabited by a living principle, and to have an oracular power.

The Syrian or Assyrian Venus was worshiped at Ascalon under the name of Derketo and Atargatis, in the form of a beautiful woman, terminating in the tail of a fish. A male divinity, of the same composite form, is frequently mentioned in Scripture in connexion with Ashdod and Gaza, which, like Ascalon, were in the peculiar district of Philistia. The name Dagon[5], by its derivation, implies that the idol was in the form of a fish. The Oannes of Babylonian mythology had the whole body of a fish, but beneath the fish's

[1] "Femineos prohibent gressus ac limine curant
Sætigeros arcere sues; nec discolor ulli
Ante aras cultus; velantur corpora lino
Et Pelusiaco præfulget stamine vortex."—Sil. It. 3, 22.

See p. 127. So Philostratus, Vit. Apoll. Tyan. ap. Phot. c. ccxlii. Ἀγάλματα αὐτοῖν οὔκ ἐστι. The Greek population of Gades had erected a special altar to the Theban Hercules, but not an image. There was probably no image of Hercules in the temple at Tyre, as Herodotus mentions none.

[2] See p. 304.

[3] Damascius ap. Phot. p. 1065, ed. Hoesch. Τῶν βαιτύλων ἄλλον ἄλλῳ ἀνακεῖσθαι θεῷ, Κρόνῳ, Διΐ, Ἡλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις.

[4] Hesych. s.v. Βαίτυλος. A connexion has been imagined between these stones and the stone of Bethel (Βαιθὴλ), Gen. 28, 18, which Jacob set up and anointed. Voss. de Idol. 6, 39. The Greek word is commonly derived from בית אל, "house of God," as if a deity dwelt in the stone.

[5] From דג, *dag*, piscis.

head grew another; he had also human feet, joined to the tail of the fish. His voice, and therefore we may conclude his second head, was that of a man[1]. Now, among the antiquities of ancient Assyria, brought to light by the researches of Layard, a figure has been found exactly corresponding with the description of Berosus; "The head of the fish forms a mitre above that of the man, while its scaly back and fan-like tail fall as a cloak behind, leaving the human feet and limbs exposed; sometimes a human body has appended to it the tail of a fish[2]." This figure is not only found on cylinders and gems, but on bas-reliefs of colossal size at Koyunjik. The mythology of Assyria and Babylon was the same, and this figure, no doubt, represents the Oannes of Berosus. The narrative in the first book of Samuel shows the identity of Dagon with Oannes and the sculptures of Assyria; "the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshhold, only the fish part[3] was left on him." The tradition respecting Oannes has evidently originated in an explanation of this peculiar form. The name of Odacon, given to a being of the same class, who appeared subsequently to Oannes, and expounded his words, is the same as Dagon[4]. Dagon, differently pointed, signifies in Hebrew, *corn*, and is explained by Sanchoniatho[5] as Siton

[1] Berosus, Richter, p. 48.

[2] Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 343.

[3] 1 Sam. 5, 4. There is nothing in the original answering to the words "stump of" Dagon, in the Common Translation. In some copies of the Septuagint (see Holmes's Edition) we read ἀμφότερα τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ἀφηρημένα, an addition which would complete the destruction of the human part of the idol.

[4] Berosus ap. Richter, p. 54.

[5] Sanch. p. 26. Δαγὼν, ὅς ἐστι Σίτων. p. 32. The Phœnicians, however, had an agricultural deity, whose image and shrine were portable. Eus. Præp. Ev. 1, 10.

and Ζεὺς Ἀρότριος, the agricultural Jupiter, an etymology due probably to the translator.

A divinity was worshiped by the Phœnicians, whom the Greeks identified with their Athene. One of the gates of Thebes was named *Oncæan* from the goddess Onca, who is said to have been the same as Athene[1]. The notices of this Phœnician Athene are so scanty that it is not certain what were her special attributes. If, however, as seems probable, her worship in the acropolis of Athens, under the title of Polias[2], was derived from Thebes, she was the warlike goddess Pallas-Athene, and this is confirmed by the Phœnician origin of the Palladium of Troy[3], which is always represented as armed. The Phœnician Athene was also worshiped at Corinth[4]. Pausanias speaks of a Phœnician Athene[5], whom he calls Siga. The image of Athene at Onca in Bœotia[6] was said to have been erected by Cadmus, an indication of the Phœnician origin of the worship.

Among a maritime people like the Phœnicians, it might have been expected that the worship of a divinity corresponding to the Greek Poseidon would hold a prominent place. Several marine deities, as Pontus, Nereus and Poseidon, are mentioned by Sanchoniatho[7]. Berytus was the seat of the worship of Poseidon and the Cabiri, and a marine Jupiter was worshiped at

[1] See p. 100, note [1]. Steph. Byz. s. v. Ὀγκαῖαι· πύλαι Θήβων. Schol. Æsch. S. c. T. 170, 503. Eur. Phœn. 1069. Schol. ad Lycophr. 1225. Nonnus calls the goddess of the Oncæan gate the "blue-eyed Mene," whom he makes to be at once Athene and the Moon. 5, 70.

[2] Hemsterhusius, ad Arist. Plut. 772, shows that πόλις meant specifically the acropolis.

[3] Lycophron (Cass. 658) calls Ulysses Κλῶπα Φοινίκης θεᾶς.

[4] Tzetzes ad Lyc. u. s.

[5] See p. 100, note [1].

[6] Müller, Orchomenos, 121.

[7] Sanch. p. 38, where for Ἀγρόταις τε καὶ ἁλιεῦσιν we should surely read Ἀγρεύταις.

Sidon. Very few traces, however, of this god appear in the public worship of Phœnicia; those which exist are in foreign countries, or belong to times in which foreign influence may have superinduced changes on the original worship. Cadmus was said to have founded a temple in Rhodes and an altar in Thera to Neptune[1]. Hanno on his voyage founded a temple to Neptune on the promontory of Soloeis. Hamilcar, after a great defeat in Sicily, offered victims to Neptune, besides sacrificing a child to Saturn; a Greek inscription has been found at Athens, in which Tyrian merchants and seamen record annual offerings to Neptune[2]; the Phalerians disputed with the Phœnicians the right to his priesthood[3]. His image is found on the coins of Carteia and on those of Berytus, but with Grecian attributes, and of the Roman age; yet his worship, along with the costume of the armed Minerva, is said by Herodotus to have come from the borders of the Lake Tritonis in Africa[4], and it is difficult to conceive by whom, except by the Phœnicians, it should have been established there among the native nomad tribes. That this divinity should make so little figure in their domestic mythology may perhaps be explained by the circumstance that they brought their religious system with them to the shores of the Mediterranean. The mythology of the other Semitic nations appears to have contained no divinity corresponding with Neptune.

The divinities who really presided over navigation among the Phœnicians were the Cabiri, the seat of whose special worship was Berytus. I have elsewhere

[1] Diod. 4, 58. Schol. Pind. 4, 11.
[2] Münter, Religion der Carthager, c. 8, p. 100.
[3] Dinarchus, 10, vol. 5, p. 653, Reiske.
[4] 4, 188; 2, 50.

endeavoured to trace the history of these mysterious beings, and to show that, in their original conception, they represented the elements of fire and air, combined in the idea of flame; and from this double character to explain their multiform appearances in mythology[1]. They were reputed the sons of Vulcan, and represented in the costume of smiths[2], and were identified with the Corybantes, the Curetes, the Idæi Dactyli, the Telchines, to all of whom the invention of metallurgy was attributed. On the other hand, as denoting the element of air, they were the gods of Samothrace[3] and the Dioscuri, the protectors of the sailor[4]. Their images, under the name of Patæci, were placed on the prows of the Phœnician ships[5]. Again, as heat and breath are the two great elements of life, they represented to the Greeks and Romans, under the names of Anakes, Lares, Penates[6], the Genii who presided over the conception and birth of man, and of Manes, the disembodied spirit, waiting for reunion to a human body. Æsculapius, who preserved or restored life, was their brother, and had a temple at Berytus. He was identified with the air, as being the source of life and health[7]. Navigation and metallurgy, especially the manufacture of bronze, for which tin is

[1] The Egypt of Herodotus, App. p. 264–287.

[2] Sanch. p. 22. Strabo, lib. 10, 466, seqq. Hesych. Καβεῖροι. See the coin of Cossyra, Pl. II.

[3] Herod. 2, 51.

[4] Vulcan or Chrysor, according to Sanchoniatho, was the inventor of *rafts*, the Cabiri of *ships*.

[5] Herod. 3, 37. Of their representation on the coins of Ascalon, see p. 235, note [2]. The name Patæci has by some been derived from Φθα, the Egyptian Vulcan. They are variously reckoned at two, three, four and eight; two is the most common number. The Phœnician name of Æsculapius, Esmun (Damasc. u. s.), is supposed to be the Hebrew שמנה, *eight*. Eight heads appear on a coin of Berytus (Eckhel, D. N. 3, 359), but they have no attribute of Cabiri.

[6] Dionys. Ant. Rom. 1, 68. Phanodemus, Fr. p. 11.

[7] Pausan, 7, 23, 6.

necessary, were arts which the Phœnicians taught to the nations of the West; and it is not wonderful if we trace them, through Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, by the wide diffusion of the worship of the deities who specially presided over these arts.

We find some examples among the Phœnicians, or their colonists, of a worship of personified attributes or qualities, but they probably belong, as among the Romans, to a late period of mythology. Thus, Ælian[1] said that the people of Gadeira had altars to the Year and the Month, Old Age and Death, Poverty and Fortune.

Ancient writers have left us little notice of the ritual of the Phœnicians, beyond the bloody sacrifices of Saturn and Moloch, and the voluptuous worship of Venus. Silius Italicus speaks of the ever-burning fire of the temple of the Gaditanian Hercules, and Herodotus implies that a nightly fire was kept up in the temple of the same divinity at Tyre[2]. The destruction which has fallen both on their literature and their art, has prevented our knowing in detail their public ceremonies, their sacred festivities and games[3], and their household religion. We may reasonably conclude that in these respects they resembled generally their neighbours the Egyptians, only the gradation of the hierarchy was not so fully developed, and the busy and wandering life of the Phœnicians would not allow so large a portion of time to be devoted to

[1] In his work περὶ προνοίας, quoted by Eust. ad Dion. Perieg. 451. Aug. Civ. Dei, 4, 11. 16. 18. 20. Muth (מות) was Death or Pluto; in the Phœnician theology a son of Cronos.

[2] 2, 44. See p. 249.

[3] A quinquennial solemnity in honour of Hercules at Tyre is mentioned in 2 Macc. 4, 19, 20, but it is doubtful whether it was an ancient custom, or introduced by the Greek kings of Syria. See Grotius ad loc.

religious acts as among the Egyptians. They had, in common with the Egyptians and Jews, the rite of circumcision[1], which they acknowledged to have learnt from the former; but the habit of mixing freely with foreigners, contrary to the usage of the other two nations, had partially worn out the practice, even in the days of Herodotus, and it seems never to have been national with the Philistines of the south[2], or the Canaanites of the interior[3]. In the treatise of Theophrastus concerning Oaths[4], mention was made of a law of the Tyrians which prohibited the use of foreign forms of adjuration, among which Korban is specially mentioned. As this was exclusively a Jewish term[5], denoting a vow to the temple of Jerusalem, the law was probably intended to prevent any adoption of the Jewish religion. The widely-extended intercourse of the Phœnicians must have made them more prone than nations less cosmopolite in their habits, to adopt the worship of foreign deities[6].

What we know of the religion of the Phœnicians is merely external, the names and attributes of their gods, and the rites by which they were worshiped; to the more interesting question, what spiritual conceptions were attached to these names and rites, or what moral influence religion exerted over the people, no answer can be given from any authentic source. Practical activity was the characteristic of the nation, and what foreigners remarked and recorded was the perfection

[1] Her. 2, 104. *Φοινίκων ὁκόσοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπιμίσγονται οὐκέτι Αἰγυπτίους μιμέονται.* From Aristoph. Aves, 504, it appears that the Phœnicians, as well as the Egyptians, were known to the Athenians as *ψωλοί*, and ridiculed by them.

[2] Judges, 14, 3. [3] Gen. 34.

[4] Diog. Laert. Theophr. 5, c. 44.

[5] Joseph. c. Ap. 1, 22.

[6] The Jews may seem an exception; but it was the spirituality of their own religion which made them so prone to foreign idolatries.

of their arts and manufactures, and their aptitude in turning science to practical purposes. We find no trace of a belief in God as an intellectual principle distinct from matter; their speculative philosophy was atheistic[1]. The doctrine of a future life and retribution, which, in one form or another, is inwoven with the religious ideas of Egypt, appears to have been unknown to the Semitic nations. As a means of controling the passions or softening the manners of the people, the public religion of Phœnicia was less efficacious than that of Egypt, whose priests, if they restrained the free exercise of individual powers, exercised a humanizing influence on society, and upheld law by the sanction of divine authority. Our ignorance of the religious system of Phœnicia is, however, the less to be regretted, since it had little influence in historic times on the belief of other nations, or on the art and literature of the ancient world. Its genuine character was retained at Carthage, when it had been modified in the parent state by Grecian influence; and even after the fall of that colony, it long retained its hold upon the inhabitants of northern Africa, who had been subject to the Carthaginian sway.

[1] See p. 293.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XI.

As frequent reference has been made to Sanchoniatho in this chapter, it has been thought desirable to give nearly the whole of what remains of his work in a continuous form. The translation is that of Mr. Cory, but with numerous corrections.

He supposes that the beginning of all things was a dark and

windy air, or a breeze of thick air and a turbid Chaos resembling Erebus; and that these were unbounded, and for a long series of ages had no limit. But when this wind became enamoured of its own first principles (the Chaos), and an intimate union took place, that connexion was called Pothos; and this was the beginning of the creation of all things. But it (the Chaos) knew not its own production; and from its embrace with the wind was generated Môt; which some call mud, but others the putrefaction of a watery mixture. And from this sprung all the seed of the creation, and the generation of the universe.

And there were certain animals without sensation, from which intelligent animals were produced, and these were called Zophasemin, that is, beholders of the heavens; and they were formed in the shape of an egg: and from Môt shone forth the sun, and the moon, the less and the greater stars. And when the air began to send forth light, by its fiery influence on the sea and earth, winds were produced, and clouds, and very great defluxions and torrents of the heavenly waters. And when they were thus separated, and carried out of their proper places by the heat of the sun, and all met again in the air, and were dashed against each other, thunder and lightnings were the result: and at the sound of the thunder, the before-mentioned intelligent animals were aroused, and startled by the noise, and moved upon the earth and in the sea, male and female. (After this our author proceeds to say:) These things were found written in the Cosmogony of Taautus, and in his Commentaries, and were drawn from his conjectures and the natural signs which by his penetration he perceived and discovered, and with which he has enlightened us.

(Afterwards, declaring the names of the winds Notus, Boreas, and the rest, he proceeds:)—But these first men consecrated the productions of the earth, and judged them gods, and worshiped those things, upon which they themselves lived, and all their posterity, and all before them; to these they made libations and sacrifices.

Of the wind Colpias, and his wife Baau, which is interpreted Night, were begotten two mortal men, Æon and Protogonus so called: and Æon discovered food from trees.

The immediate descendents of these were called Genus and Genea, and they dwelt in Phœnicia: and when there were great droughts they stretched forth their hands to heaven towards the Sun; for him they supposed to be God, the only lord of heaven,

calling him Beelsamin, which in the Phœnician dialect signifies Lord of Heaven, but among the Greeks is equivalent to Zeus.

Afterwards by Genus the son of Æon and Protogonus were begotten mortal children, whose names were Phôs, Pûr, and Phlox. These found out the method of producing fire by rubbing pieces of wood against each other, and taught men the use thereof. These begat sons of vast bulk and height, whose names were conferred upon the mountains which they occupied: thus from them Cassius, and Libanus, and Antilibanus, and Brathu received their names.

Memrumus and Hypsuranius were the issue of these men, but they were called after their mothers; the women of those times, without shame, having intercourse with any men whom they might chance to meet. Hypsuranius inhabited Tyre: and he invented huts constructed of reeds and rushes, and the papyrus. And he fell into enmity with his brother Usous, who was the inventor of clothing for the body, which he made of the skins of the wild beasts which he could catch. And when there were violent storms of rain and wind, the trees in Tyre being rubbed against each other, took fire, and all the forest in the neighbourhood was consumed. And Usous having taken a tree, and broken off its boughs, was the first who dared to venture on the sea. And he consecrated two pillars to Fire and Wind, and worshiped them, and poured out upon them the blood of the wild beasts he took in hunting: and when these men were dead, those that remained consecrated to them wooden posts, and worshiped the pillars, and held anniversary feasts in honour of them.

And in times long subsequent to these were born of the race of Hypsuranius, Agreus and Halieus, the inventors of the arts of hunting and fishing, from whom huntsmen and fishermen derive their names. Of these were begotten two brothers who discovered iron, and the forging thereof. One of these called Chrysor, who is the same with Hephæstus, exercised himself in words, and charms and divinations; and he invented the hook, and the bait, and the fishing-line, and rafts; and he was the first of all men that sailed. Wherefore he was worshiped after his death as a God, under the name of Diamichius. And it is said that his brothers invented the art of building walls with bricks. Afterwards, of this race were born two youths, one of whom was called Technites, and the other was called Geïnus Autochthôn. These discovered the method of mingling stubble with the loam of

bricks, and of baking them in the sun; they were also the inventors of tiling. By these were begotten others, of whom one was named Agrus, the other Agrouerus or Agrotes, of whom in Phœnicia there was a statue held in the highest veneration, and a temple drawn by yokes of oxen: and at Byblus he is called, by way of eminence, the greatest of the Gods. These added to the houses, courts and porticos and crypts: husbandmen, and such as hunt with dogs, derive their origin from these; they are called also Aletæ, and Titans. From these were descended Amynus and Magus, who taught men to construct villages and tend flocks. By these men were begotten Misor and Sydyc, that is, Well-freed and Just: and they found out the use of salt.

From Misor descended Taautus, who invented alphabetical writing: him the Egyptians called Thoot, the Alexandrians Thoyth, and the Greeks Hermes. But from Sydyc descended the Dioscuri, or Cabiri, or Corybantes, or Samothraces: these (he says) first built a ship. From these descended others, who were the discoverers of medicinal herbs, and of the cure of the bites of venomous creatures and of charms. Contemporary with these was one Elioun, called Hypsistus (the most high); and a female named Beruth, and they dwelt about Byblus.

By these was begotten Epigeus or Autochthon, whom they afterwards called Ouranus (Heaven); so that from him that element, which is over us, by reason of its excellent beauty, is named heaven. He had a sister of the same parents, who was called Ge (Earth), and by reason of her beauty the earth was called by the same name. Hypsistus, the father of these, having been killed in a conflict with wild beasts, was consecrated, and his children offered libations and sacrifices unto him.

But Ouranus, succeeding to the kingdom of his father, contracted a marriage with his sister Ge, and had by her four sons, Ilus who is called Cronus, and Betylus, and Dagon, which signifies Siton (Bread-corn), and Atlas. And by other wives Ouranus had much issue; at which Ge, being vexed and jealous of Ouranus, reproached him so that they parted from each other. Nevertheless Ouranus, having quitted her, returned to her again by force, whenever he thought proper, and having approached her, again departed: he attempted also to kill the children whom he had by her; but Ge often defended herself with the assistance of auxiliary powers. But when Cronus arrived at man's estate, acting by the advice and with the assistance of Hermes Trisme-

gistus, who was his secretary, he opposed himself to his father Ouranus, that he might avenge his mother.

And to Cronus were born children, Persephone and Athena; the former of whom died a virgin; but, by the advice of Athena and Hermes, Cronus made of iron a faulchion and a spear. Then Hermes addressed the allies of Cronus with magic words, and wrought in them a keen desire to make war against Ouranus in behalf of Ge. And Cronus having thus engaged with Ouranus in battle, drove him from his kingdom, and succeeded him in the imperial power. In the battle was taken the beloved concubine of Ouranus, who was pregnant; and Cronus bestowed her in marriage upon Dagon, and, whilst she was with him, she was delivered of the child which she had conceived by Ouranus, and called his name Demarous. After these events Cronus surrounded his habitation with a wall, and founded Byblus, the first city of Phœnicia. Afterwards Cronus having conceived a suspicion of his own brother Atlas, by the advice of Hermes, threw him into a deep place in the earth, and raised a mound over him.

At this time the descendents of the Dioscuri, having built rafts and ships, put to sea; and being cast away over against Mount Cassius, there consecrated a temple. But the auxiliaries of Ilus, who is Cronus, were called Eloeim, as it were, the allies of Cronus; being so called after Cronus. And Cronus, having a son called Sadidus, despatched him with his own sword, because he held him in suspicion, and with his own hand deprived his child of life. And in like manner he cut off the head of his own daughter, so that all the gods were astonished at the disposition of Cronus. But in process of time, whilst Ouranus was still in banishment, he sent his daughter Astarte, being a virgin, with two other of her sisters, Rhea and Dione, to cut off Cronus by treachery; but Cronus took the damsels, and married them notwithstanding they were his own sisters. When Ouranus understood this, he sent Eimarmene and Hora with other auxiliaries to make war against Cronus: but Cronus gained the affections of these also, and detained them with himself. Moreover, the god Ouranus devised Bætulia, contriving stones having life. And by Astarte, Cronus had seven daughters called Titanides, or Artemides; by Rhea also he had seven sons, the youngest of whom was consecrated from his birth; also by Dione he had daughters; and by Astarte again he had two other sons, Pothos and Eros. And Dagon, after he had found out bread-corn, and the plough,

was called Zeus Arotrius. To Sydyc, who was called the just, one of the Titanides bare Asclepius: and to Cronus there were born also in Peræa[1] three sons, Cronus bearing the same name with his father, and Zeus Belus, and Apollo.

Contemporary with these were Pontus, and Typhon, and Nereus the father of Pontus: from Pontus descended Sidon, who by the excellence of her singing first invented a musical hymn, and Poseidon. But to Demarous was born Melicarthus, who is also called Heracles. Ouranus then again made war on Pontus, but afterwards relinquishing the attack he attached himself to Demarous, when Demarous invaded Pontus: but Pontus put him to flight, and Demarous vowed a sacrifice for his escape.

In the thirty-second year of his power and reign, Ilus, who is Cronus, having laid an ambuscade for his father Ouranus in a certain inland place, when he had got him into his hands emasculated him near fountains and rivers. There Ouranus was consecrated, and his spirit was separated, and the blood of his parts flowed into the fountains and the waters of the rivers; and the place, which was the scene of this transaction, is showed even to this day. .

(Then our historian, after some other things, goes on thus):— But Astarte called the greatest, and Demarous, named Zeus, and Adodus, who is entitled the king of gods, reigned over the country by the consent of Cronus: and Astarte put upon her head, as the mark of her sovereignty, a bull's head: and travelling about the habitable world, she found a star falling through the air, which she took up, and consecrated in the holy island of Tyre: and the Phœnicians say that Astarte is Aphrodite. Moreover, Cronus visiting the different regions of the habitable world, gave to his daughter Athena the kingdom of Attica: and when there happened a plague with a great mortality, Cronus offered up his only begotten son as a sacrifice to his father Ouranus, and circumcised himself, and compelled his allies to do the same: and not long afterwards he consecrated after his death another of his sons, called Muth, whom he had by Rhea; this (Muth) the Phœnicians esteem the same as Death and Pluto. After these things, Cronus gave the city of Byblus to the goddess Baaltis, which is Dione, and Berytus to Poseidon, and to the Caberi who were husbandmen and fishermen: and they consecrated the remains of Pontus at Berytus. But before these things, the god Taautus,

[1] Παραίᾳ. Vig. Col. ? Paria, near Joppa, Plin. 5, 34.

having portrayed Ouranus, represented also the countenances of the gods Cronus, and Dagon, and the sacred characters of the elements. He contrived also for Cronus emblems of his royal power, four eyes in the parts before and in the parts behind, two of them closing as in sleep; and upon the shoulders four wings, two in the act of flying, and two reposing as at rest. And the meaning was, that Cronus whilst he slept was watching, and reposed whilst he was awake. And in like manner with respect to the wings, that he was flying whilst he rested, yet rested whilst he flew. But for the other gods there were two wings only to each upon his shoulders, to intimate that they flew along with Cronus; and there were also two wings upon the head, the one as a symbol of the intellectual part, the mind, and the other for the senses. And Cronus, visiting the country of the south, gave all Egypt to the god Taautus, that it might be his kingdom. These things, says he, the Caberi, the seven sons of Sydyc, and their eighth brother Asclepius, first of all set down in the records in obedience to the commands of the god Taautus.

All these things the son of Thabion, the first Hierophant of all among the Phœnicians, allegorized and mixed up with the occurrences and accidents of nature and the world, and delivered to the priests and prophets, the superintendents of the mysteries: and they, designing to increase the rage for these allegories, delivered them to their successors, and to foreigners: of whom one was Isiris, the inventor of the three modes of writing, the brother of Chna, whose name was first changed to Phœnix.—Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10.

It was the custom among the ancients, in times of great calamity, in order to prevent the ruin of all, for the rulers of the city or nation to sacrifice to the avenging deities the most beloved of their children as the price of redemption: they who were devoted for this purpose were offered mystically. For Cronus, whom the Phœnicians call Il, and who after his death was deified and instated in the planet which bears his name, when king, had by a nymph of the country called Anobret an only son, who on that account is styled Ieoud, for so the Phœnicians still call an only son: and when great dangers from war beset the land he adorned the altar, and invested this son with the emblems of royalty, and sacrificed him.—Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. iv. c. 17.

HISTORY OF PHŒNICIA.

HISTORY OF PHŒNICIA.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE WARS WITH ASSYRIA.

THE wide diffusion of the Phœnicians by means of commercial emporia and colonies, which, in the fourth chapter, we have traced to the remote West, was accomplished in the course of many centuries, which have left no historic annals or even traditions behind them. Those colonies to which no special date can be assigned, originated, as the legend of Europa indicates, in the time when Sidon and the northern towns were the most flourishing, and Tyre had not yet risen into importance. From their settlements no powerful and self-aggrandizing states arose, and their traces were nearly effaced by the diffusion of the Hellenic race, at once commercial and warlike, over the coasts of Asia Minor, the islands of the Ægean, and Sicily. The domestic policy of Sidon was peaceful[1], and it had no neighbours formidable to its independence and prosperity. The Israelites did not attempt to possess themselves of the sea-coast[2]. If a

[1] See page 64.

[2] Wars between the Tyrians and the Israelites in the days of Samuel cannot be admitted on the sole

powerful monarchy existed in Mesopotamia, its conquests do not appear to have extended permanently westward of the Syrian Desert[1]. The kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Egypt carried on wars in Palestine, and conquered Cyprus[2], but they had never permanent possession of the harbours of Phœnicia. This country therefore proceeded without interruption in that course of commercial activity to which it was invited by the possession of the materials of manufacture and ship-building, by its line of coast abounding in harbours, and its position between civilized Asia and Egypt, and uncivilized Europe. The commencement of this period cannot be historically fixed; it may ascend to the sixteenth or seventeenth century B.C.; it may be several centuries earlier. We must be content to leave undefined the birth year of ancient nations, if we would not delude ourselves with a false appearance of knowledge. We have no fixed point from which we can reckon forward; no series of events by which we can carry our reckoning backward. The language of Herodotus, however, implies that the extension of Phœnician commerce was rapid, after their first establishment on the shores of the Mediterranean[3].

The early prosperity of Sidon, and the flourishing state of its manufactures and commerce are attested by

authority of so late a writer as Jesus the son of Sirach. Ecclus. 46, 18.

[1] The subjection of Israel to Cushan Rishathaim was temporary, and his dominion does not appear to have included the coast. Diodorus (2, 2) makes the kingdom of Ninus embrace Phœnicia; but this whole narrative is evidently unhistoric. Movers, B. 1, ch. 8, thinks there are traces of a conquest of Syria and Palestine by Assyria, first 2000 years B.C. and then 1300 B.C.

[2] Anc. Eg. 2, 211, 217, 225, 256, 306, 329.

[3] See page 46.

several passages in the works of Homer. The vase of silver which Achilles proposes as a prize in the funeral games in honour of Patroclus[1], was a work of the "skilful Sidonians;" the garment offered by Hecuba as a propitiation to Minerva[2] was the work of Sidonian women, whom Paris had brought with him to Troy when he visited Phœnicia. The bowl of silver with edges of gold which Menelaus gives to Telemachus is called a work of Hephaistos, and was given to him by the king of the Sidonians[3]. The narrative of Eumæus exhibits Phœnicians at once as merchants and pirates. Sidon is spoken of in the same passage as abounding in works of brass. Ulysses also represents himself as having been left on the island of Ithaka by the Phœnicians, while they sailed away to "the well-peopled Sidonia[4]." This exclusive mention of Sidon cannot represent the actual state of things when the poet wrote; for in that age Tyre had already assumed the ascendency; but it indicates his traditional knowledge of the time when the power of Phœnicia centred in Sidon, and Tyre was insignificant. This corresponds with the notices in the Old Testament already quoted, in which the wealth and power of Sidon are alluded to, while Tyre is only mentioned as distinguished by the strength of its position[5]. Both cities stand in the great plain which extends from the White Promontory to the river Bostrenus, without any natural division of their territory, and Tyre was probably at first only a dependency of Sidon. Its name appears indeed in many traditions

[1] Il. ψ', 743.

[2] Il. ζ, 290.

[3] Od. δ', 618; ο', 117. Τινὲς δὲ Σώβαλον αὐτὸν, ἕτεροι δὲ Σέθλων ἱστόρησαν. Eust. ad loc.

[4] Od. ν', 272, 285; ο', 402, 424.

[5] See p. 58.

relating to very early times; but it was natural that after it had become predominant, it should be substituted for that of Sidon, as representing Phœnicia. The foundation of Gades, however, is distinctly ascribed to Tyre, so that it is evident that it had attained to considerable power eleven centuries before the Christian æra. The cause of this change is one of the few facts which have been distinctly preserved to us in early Phœnician history.

Justin represents Tyre as having been founded a year before the Capture of Troy, thus apparently reducing by about 1500 years the date assigned to it by the priests of the temple of Hercules. "The Sidonians," he says, "many years after the building of their city, were defeated by the king of Ascalon, and came in their ships to Tyre, which they founded[1]." This expression, however, by no means implies that no city existed there previously; for Justin uses the same word of the re-establishment of Tyre by Alexander[2]; and removal to an unoccupied and defenceless place, only twenty miles distant, would have been no protection against the enemy who had just expelled them from their city. Justin assigns no date to the capture of Troy; if he followed the computation of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, he would place it in 1184 B.C.; if that of Castor and the Parian Marble, in 1209 B.C.[3] The great increase of its power, derived from the accession of the Sidonians, explains the position which Tyre henceforward assumes, and the

[1] Justin, 18, 3, "Post multos deinde annos a rege Ascalonitarum Sidonii expugnati, navibus appulsi Tyron urbem ante annum Trojanæ cladis condiderunt."

[2] "Hoc modo Tyrii, Alexandri auspiciis *conditi*, parcimonia et labore quærendi cito convaluere." 18, 4.

[3] Clemens Alex. Strom. 1, p. 336. Fynes Clinton, Fast. Hell. 1, 124.

depression of Sidon weakened by defeat and the emigration of its citizens. Josephus places the settlement of Tyre 240 years before the building of Solomon's Temple[1]. He refers no doubt to the same event as Justin, the occupation of the island by the Sidonians, as he cannot have been ignorant of the mention of Tyre in the Old Testament more than 240 years before Solomon. The date of the building of Solomon's Temple is itself disputed, estimates varying from 1012 B.C. to 969 B.C. Reckoning backward 240 years, we arrive in the one case at the year 1252, in the other 1209 B.C., as the year of the expulsion of the Sidonians and their settlement in Tyre[2].

We have no historical account of the origin of the power which enabled the Philistine city of Ascalon to triumph over the Sidonians. Its name probably represents the whole Pentapolis of Philistia[3], of which no other city originally possessed a harbour on the Mediterranean. We know that in the twelfth century B.C. the Philistines became so powerful as to be able to reduce Israel to the condition of a tributary[4]; and this predominance they maintained till the reign of David. Unwarlike sovereigns sat on the throne of Egypt[5], and the tribes of Israel were divided and weak.

Tyre consisted of two parts, an island about three-quarters of a mile in length, separated from the main-

[1] Jos. Ant. 8, 3. Ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκήσεως Τύρου εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ διαγεγόνει χρόνος ἐτῶν τεσσεράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων.

[2] Movers, 2, 1, 150–166, has examined this question, and decides for the later date.

[3] Amos, 1, 8. "I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod, and him that holdeth the sceptre from Ascalon."

[4] Hitzig (Philistäer, § 100) attributes the increase of the power of Philistia to a new immigration from Caphthor, which according to him is Crete.

[5] Anc. Egypt, 2, 336.

land by a strait four stadia, about half a mile, in width at its northern end, and a town on the shore. The latter was distinguished as Palæ-Tyrus, or Ancient Tyre, and was the chief seat of the population, till the wars of the Assyrian monarchs against Phœnicia. It extended along the shore from the river Leontes in the north, to the fountain of Ras-el-Ain in the south, a distance of seven miles, great part of which would be suburb rather than city. Pliny, who wrote when its boundaries could still be traced, computes the circuit of Palæ-Tyrus and the island together at nineteen Roman miles, that of the island town being 22 stadia[1] From the account of the siege by Nebuchadnezzar in the prophet Ezekiel (26, 7–14), it appears to have been in part strongly fortified; some of his predictions would have no propriety if applied to the island, which could only be assailed by a fleet, which the Babylonians do not appear to have possessed[2]. But though called Old Tyre, because it lay in ruins, when the younger city on the island was in the height of its prosperity, it was from the first connected with it; and the name of Tyre (*Tsour*), "a rock," would hardly be appropriate, except to the island. On the other hand, the manner in which Tyre is spoken of in the book of Joshua (19, 29), "the coast turneth to the strong city Tyre," indicates a place situated on the shore, like all the others which are described in the context. And in the mention of the numbering of the people in the reign of David, Tyre is evidently spoken of as a city on the mainland, con-

[1] Plin. 5, 17 (19). Strabo, 758, makes Palæ-Tyrus to be 30 stadia distant from Tyre. This must be the southern extremity near Ras-el-Ain.

[2] Ezek. 26, 812.

terminous with the boundary of David's kingdom[1]. It is probable that from the first, the island, from the excellence of its natural harbour, was a naval station to the city on the mainland, and, as a place of security, the seat of the worship of the national deities, Astarte, Belus, Hercules. The same motive which induced the Athenians to select the rock of the Acropolis, and the Romans the steep hill of the Capitol, as the seat of their chief temple, directed the choice of the Phœnicians to an island as most safe from desecration and plunder. Accordingly we find in Sanchoniatho that Astarte consecrated a star, in "the holy island Tyre;" but the existence of the city on the land is recognized in the same primæval times, as the friction of the trees in its neighbourhood is assigned as the occasion of the discovery of fire[2]. According to Justin and Curtius, when Alexander desired admission to the island, in order that he might sacrifice to Hercules, the Tyrians replied, that he might do it with more propriety in Palæ-Tyrus, in which there was an older temple[3]. Nothing, however, can be concluded from this as to the relative antiquity of the temples, the answer being a skilful evasion of a treacherous demand.

The situation of Palæ-Tyrus was one of the most fertile spots on the coast of Phœnicia. The plain is here about five miles wide, the soil is dark, and the variety of its productions excited the wonder of the Crusaders[4]. Near the southern extremity of the city

[1] 2 Sam. 24, 6, 7. "They came to Zidon and to the strong hold of Tyre, and to all the cities of the Hivites and the Canaanites."

[2] Sanch. p. 18, 36, ed. Orell.

[3] Justin, 11, 10. Curt. 4, 2.

[4] "Est fertilitate præcipua et amœnitate quasi singularis; habet planitiem sibi continuam divitis glebæ et opimi soli; multas civibus ministrans commoditates; quæ licet modica videatur, exiguitatem suam multa redimit ubertate, et infinita jugera multiplici fœcunditate compensat." William of Tyre, 13, 3.

was a fountain, which, communicating with some natural receptacle in the mountains above, poured forth copious and perennial streams of pure and cool water[1]. An aqueduct distributed them through the town. The singular mixture which Tyre exhibited of the scenery of land and sea is described with more than his usual felicity by the poet Nonnus. "The sailor furrows the sea with his oar, as the ploughman the soil; the lowing of oxen and the song of birds answer the deep roar of the main; the Hamadryad among the tall trees hears the voice of the Nereid calling to her from the waves; the breeze from Lebanon, while it cools the rustic at his mid-day labour, speeds the sailor seaward[2]."

Whatever may have been the relative importance of Palæ-Tyrus and the island, previous to the great migration from Sidon, occasioned by the victory of the Ascalonites, there can be no doubt that from this time the population of the island greatly increased. The colonization of Gades took place about a century later. But we have no connected history of Tyre till near the age of Solomon, whose relations with Hiram induced Josephus to extract some passages from the Tyrian histories of Dius and Menander. Before this time we have only mythic names. Phœnix, the father of Cadmus and Europa, is the country of Phœnicia converted into a person; Belus, the first king, is the god Baal; Agenor, to whom the foundation both of

[1] See Maundrell's Journey, p. 67. It is called Ras-el-Ain, "head of the fountain." Nonnus, 40, 360:—

.... ἀρχεγόνους δὲ
Πηγὰς θάμβεε μᾶλλον, ὅπῃ χθονίου διὰ κόλπου
Νάματος ἐκχυμένου, παλινάγρετον εἰς μίαν ὥρην
Χεύμασιν αὐτογόνοισι πολυτρεφὲς ἔβλυεν ὕδωρ.

[2] Nonnus, Dionys. 40, 327.

Tyre and Sidon is attributed, like Phaidimus the Sidonian, mentioned by Homer, is a Greek epithet[1], probably of Hercules. But Hiram and his predecessor Abibal are historical personages, and from this time to the foundation of Carthage, we have a regular succession of kings with dates of their reigns. To understand the changes in the locality of Tyre which took place under Hiram, it is necessary to advert to its natural features.

The rock on which it stood, and from which the name was derived, is one of a chain running nearly parallel with the coast. To the north of Tyre, seven of these islets appear above the water; to the south, two or three are again visible[2]. They are all of small extent, with the exception of that on which Tyre was built. It is difficult to trace its original outline and estimate its area, in consequence of the artificial extension on the side next the land, and the construction of a mole by Alexander the Great. More accurate borings than have hitherto been made would be necessary, in order to determine where the native rock ceased and the substructions began. Maundrell[3] estimated by his eye the original area of the island at about forty acres. When Pliny assigned to the island city a circumference of twenty-two stadia, he included no doubt what had been added by the substructions on the land side. One of the chain of islets on the north had been joined to the main island by

[1] There was an Agenorium at Tyre in the age of Alexander (Arrian, 2, 24), but it appears to have been the name which the Greeks gave to the temple of some Tyrian divinity. The name either means "valiant," or is equivalent in signification to Ἀρχηγέτης, a title of Hercules. See p. 172.

[2] See the Plate of the Topography of Tyre, on which three of these islets are represented on the north side, and others on the south.

[3] Journey, p. 66.

Hiram[1], and contained a temple of Olympian Jupiter, or Baal. The sea in the strait was shallow near the shore, but deepened to three fathoms close to the island[2]. There was no spring in the island, as we learn from the account of the siege by Nebuchadnezzar, the Phœnicians choosing, for the sake of security, here as in Aradus and Gades, to submit to the inconvenience of having to fetch their water from the opposite shore, or rely on what could be preserved in tanks. The fountain at Ras-el-Ain, at the southern extremity of Palæ-Tyrus, is the same which supplied the ancient city. The reservoir into which the spring is received, is an octagon of 60 feet in diameter, with walls 18 feet in height, and the water rises with a strong ebullition to within three feet of the top. The age of its construction is uncertain; the tradition of the country attributes it to Solomon. An aqueduct, some of whose broken arches remain, conveyed the water along the shore to a point opposite the island. A branch of it extends to the middle of the isthmus.

From the settlement of the Sidonian exiles, insular Tyre seems to have increased so rapidly, that the population was inconveniently crowded. In the Roman times, the Tyrian houses were built, without regard to the fearful destruction which an earthquake occasioned, and contrary to the oriental fashion, story above story, like the *insulæ* of Rome[3]. Such was probably the case at the accession of Hiram; the narrow space afforded no room for a public square. Hiram succeeded his father Abibal shortly before the building of Solomon's Temple,

[1] Οὗτος τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν καθ' ἑαυτὸ δὲ ἐν νήσῳ, χώσας τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον, συνῆψε τῇ πόλει Joseph. c. Apion, 1, 17.

[2] Arrian, 2, 18.

[3] Strabo, 16, 757. See the account of Aradus, p. 5 of this volume.

and in his reign of thirty-four years greatly enlarged and embellished the city. By means of substructions on the eastern side of the rock, he gained a space which not only gave room for new dwellings, but for a wide public place, called by the Greeks the Eurychorus. Having joined the smaller island to the larger, he adorned the temple which stood on it with golden offerings[1]. He pulled down the ancient temples of Hercules and Astarte, and rebuilt them with a roofing of cedar of Lebanon. The examination of the site of Tyre confirms this account. The original island-city appears to have been bounded by a wall, the line of which can still be traced by its foundations[2]. Beyond this on the eastern side, wherever excavations are made, rubbish only is found, denoting the artificial ground on which Hiram laid out his Eurychorus[3], and still nearer to the shore is the low isthmus of moving sand, which has accumulated in the course of one-and-twenty centuries over the mole constructed by Alexander the Great. This isthmus, where narrowest, that is, near the island, is about one-third of a mile from north to south. A Greek romance-writer fancifully compares the island to a ship at anchor, and the isthmus to the gangboard (*ἐπιβάθρα*) laid from it to the shore[4]. It has probably increased in width from

[1] Dius ap. Jos. Ant. 8, 5. Ap. 1, 17. *Τὸν χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀνέθηκεν.* Menander, ibid. The *στήλη χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου* of which Herodotus speaks (2, 44) was in the temple of Hercules.

[2] Maundrell, p. 66. See the Plate. The No. 16 on the Plan marks the farthest point to the East at which any trace of the wall has been found. This was probably the limit of the island.

[3] To obtain a sufficient basis for his Temple, Solomon carried out vast substructions of stone into the valley of the Kedron, in one place 300 cubits high, the stones being from 17 to 30 feet long. Josephus speaks of stones 40 cubits long. These works were probably performed under the direction of Hiram's artificers. Robinson, 1, 422.

[4] Chariton, 7, 2, p. 156, ed. Reiske.

the accumulation of sand, since the time of the Crusades, when William of Tyre says it was only a bowshot across[1]. The rocky island on which stood the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and which Hiram united to the larger one, cannot now be distinguished, whether it have become completely incorporated with it in the lapse of time, or has been swallowed up in some of those earthquakes by which Tyre has been visited[2]. Not only the eastern but the southern side also of the island appears to have been enlarged by substructions, since here too a great depth of rubbish is found on excavation.

Ancient Tyre had a double roadstead and a double harbour. The northern roadstead, called the Sidonian[3], as looking towards that city, was protected by the line of islets, already described, against all winds but the north. The northern harbour was a natural curvature on the eastern side of the rock which formed the basis of the island, but art had been employed to render it more secure. The sea was excluded on the north by two walls[4], at the distance of about 100 feet from each other, portions of which yet remain; on the east it was nearly closed by two ridges of rock, on which walls had been built, with an opening between them of about 140 feet. A chain or boom could be extended across the opening when an attack was apprehended. The harbour itself, in its original

[1] Lib. 13, 4. The account of the Père Roger (Terre Sainte, p. 41) is still more at variance with the modern state of things: "La ville de Tyr est sept ou huit cent pas avant dans la mer; pour y aller il faut passer par une chaussée ou digue *large de cinquante pas.*"

[2] Seneca, N. Q. 6, 26. Ibid. 1. Islands which lay near to continents were supposed to be more liable to earthquakes than those further out to sea. Arist. Meteor. 2, 8.

[3] Arrian, 2, 20.

[4] Marked 2. 2. 3. 3 on the Plan. Portions of the wall remain above water at A. A.

extent, was about 900 feet in length and 700 in breadth; but its dimensions are now much contracted, and a part of modern Sour is built over its southern part. The almost entire destruction of the northern walls allows the free entrance of the sea, which, when agitated by the north wind, sweeps in vast quantities of sand. At the eastern mouth also, a *boghas* or bar has formed itself, and the obstruction to the passage has been increased by columns which have either fallen in, or been placed there by the inhabitants to prevent the access of hostile vessels. Only those of very shallow draught can now enter, and if the present process continues the harbour will become useless.

The southern roadstead, called the Egyptian[1], was not protected by nature like the northern; but the recent researches of Bertou, if they may be relied on, have brought to light a stupendous work of art, designed to serve as a breakwater against the waves which the south-west wind drives in with dangerous violence. It is a wall of 35 feet in thickness, prolonged for two miles in a straight line to the south-west[2], now covered by the sea to the depth of two or three fathoms[3]. Within this breakwater there is a depth of from six to eight fathoms[4]. The whole southern part

[1] Strabo appears not to have considered the roadsteads as λιμένες. He speaks only of two, one closed, the other, the Egyptian, open. 16, 757.

[2] Some of the stones of which Herod's pier at Cæsarea were composed, were 50 feet long, 18 broad, and 9 deep, but the pier was only 200 feet long. Joseph. Ant. 15, 9, 13.

[3] Marked 14 upon the Plan.

[4] These things are stated on the authority of Bertou, Topographie de Tyr, p. 14, who admits, however, that as the remains of the wall have not been examined with a diving-bell, it cannot be described with certainty. No other traveller has noticed it, though there is a passage in Maundrell which may apply to it: "These bays" (the north

of the island is occupied, according to the same author, by a harbour or dock, which, after the analogy of Carthage, he calls the *Cothon*, or lesser harbour; what is called, in the history of the siege by Alexander, the Egyptian harbour[1]. The walls which separated it from the Egyptian roadstead may yet be traced[2]; its communication by the sea could be closed by a boom. Thus the fleet and arsenals were placed in perfect security, as if within a house whose bolts were closed[3]. A canal, running through the middle of the city, connected the Cothon with the northern harbour already described, and in this way ships could pass from the north into the Cothon. The canal is now choked with rubbish and sand, but when these are penetrated to the depth of six or seven feet, sea water is invariably found, whereas elsewhere an excavation of three or four feet reaches the rock.

Strabo remarks concerning Gades, that its size by no means corresponded with the amount of its population, and explains the disproportion by the circumstance that many of the Gaditanians were always absent on commercial pursuits, and that many lived on the main land[4]. The same remark applies to Tyre;

and south roadsteads) "are in part defended from the ocean each by a long ridge resembling a mole stretching directly out on both sides from the head of the island; but these ridges, whether they were walls or rocks, whether the work of art or nature, I was too far distant to discern." Travels, p. 66. As no part of Bertou's mole is now above water, if it be the same "ridge" as Maundrell noticed, it must have been dilapidated by the waves, or have subsided by the effect of an earthquake. The whole subject demands further investigation.

[1] קטן, "small." Comp. Strab. p. 832.

[2] Marked 11 upon the Plan.

[3] Πανταχόθεν τοῖς Τυρίοις τὸν πόλεμον ἀποκλεῖσαι ῥᾴδιον· τὴν μὲν πεζὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης, ἀρκούσης αὐτῇ πύλης μιᾶς· τὸν δὲ ἐπίπλουν τῶν τριηρῶν τείχεσιν ὀχυρῶς ᾠκοδομημένης τῆς πόλεως, καὶ λιμέσι κλειομένης, ὥσπερ οἰκίας. Chariton, u. s.

[4] 3, 169.

the site of the present town appears wholly inadequate as the seat of the first naval power of the Mediterranean, "the renowned city, which was strong in the sea, and caused terror to be on all who haunted it[1]." We have seen how room was economized in building, and how the area of the city was enlarged by substructions; but besides this, it is probable that it covered spaces which are now either buried beneath the sea, or so near its level, that the waves break over them in a storm. Westward of the present town, the rock of which the island consists extends for more than a mile into the sea, sloping from east to west; at the eastern side, the sea, when calm, barely covers it. Probably it was once higher, and part of the ancient city stood upon it; for in various places shafts and bases of columns are seen, having resisted the power of the sea, which has swept away all the lighter materials[2]. Such a subsidence is not incredible on a coast so liable to earthquakes. Since that of 1837, the inhabitants of Sour profess to have observed, that the waves cover more of this platform of rock than before. What portion of the works which made Tyre the best and safest harbour on the coast of Phœnicia was due to Hiram, is uncertain, but it is probable that while providing a public place for its inhabitants and a larger area for their habitations, he would not

[1] Ezek. 26, 17. Bertou, p. 7, calculates that insular Tyre, according to its actual area, could hold at most only 22,500 inhabitants; but see p. 348.

[2] Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the East about A.D. 1170, says, "If you mount the walls of New Tsoor, you may see the remains of Tyre, the crowning city, which was inundated by the sea; it is about a stone's-throw from the new town, and whoever embarks may observe towers, markets, streets, and halls, on the bottom of the sea." P. 62, Asher's ed.

neglect the necessary means of the increase of their commerce and the protection of their navy.

We discover the greatness of Tyre in this age, not so much from its own annals, as from those of the Israelites, its neighbours. They had emerged from that state of feebleness and distraction in which they had lived from the time of their settlement in Canaan till Saul became their king, and which had made them the prey of their warlike neighbours the Philistines. David had acquired complete possession of Jerusalem, which he made the capital of his kingdom, and organized a large military force available either for defence or invasion. He defeated the Philistines and the Syrians of Zoba, and made the Moabites, Ammonites and Edomites tributary. With Tyre he maintained only friendly relations[1], and intermarriages took place between the Israelites and the Tyrians[2]. When he built himself a palace in Jerusalem, Hiram furnished him both with the cedars of Lebanon and the masons and carpenters who were employed in its construction[3]. He had also meditated the erection of a splendid temple, and though forbidden to perform this work, which was reserved for the peaceful reign of Solomon, he had prepared the hewn stones, the iron and the brass that were necessary for its construction, and the Tyrians and Sidonians had supplied him with abundance of cedar-wood for the same purpose[4]. The dominions which David had gained

[1] 1 Kings, 5, 1, "Hiram was ever a lover of David." 1 Kings, 7, 14.

[2] 2 Chron. 2, 14.

[3] 2 Sam. 5, 11. 1 Chron. 14, 1.

[4] 1 Chron. 22, 2. 29, 1-9. The Book of Kings does not mention any such preparation on the part of David, which may throw some doubt on its reality.

by his sword descended to his son, who reigned from Thapsacus on the Euphrates to Gaza on the frontier of Egypt[1]; and he immediately began to execute his father's design. Each country needed what the other could supply. The wheat of the plains of Galilee and the oil of the hill country of Judah maintained[2] the royal household of Hiram; the skill of the Phœnician artists supplied the entire want of it among the Israelites, who had long lost the knowledge which they had brought with them from Egypt[3]. In virtue of a treaty between them, Solomon furnished yearly 20,000 *cors* of wheat and twenty (thousand) *cors* of oil[4] for the consumption of Hiram's household[5], while Hiram in return not only sent him men to direct the felling of the cedars and firs of Lebanon, but also a superintendent of the finer works of art, "a man of Tyre, skilful to work in gold and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone and in timber, in purple and blue, and in fine linen; also to grave any manner of graving." The timber felled on Lebanon was brought by the Tyrians on floats to Joppa, and thence conveyed to Jerusalem, where both the wood- and stone-work were so accurately prepared, that it was not necessary to employ any axe or hammer

[1] 1 Kings, 4, 24.

[2] Comp. Acts, 12, 20. Grain only is mentioned in the letter of Hiram, παρασχῆς ἡμῖν ἀντὶ τούτων σῖτον, οὗ διὰ τὸ νῆσον οἰκεῖν δεόμεθα. Jos. Ant. 8, 2, 7.

[3] The language of the Chronicles (1. 22, 15; 2. 2, 14) implies that David and Solomon had "cunning artists" of their own; not so that of the Book of Kings.

[4] 1 Kings, 5, 11. 2 Chron. 2, 10, "adds 20,000 measures of barley, 20,000 baths of wine." The tendency of the writer is to exaggerate upon his original. It is generally agreed that אלף (1000) has dropped out of the Hebrew text of the second clause in the Book of Kings. So the Sept. and Josephus, Ant. 8, 2, 9.

[5] The *cor* was 75 gallons; or 32 pecks dry-measure. Comparing what Solomon furnished for Hiram's household, with the consumption of his own (1 Kings, 4, 22), it appears that the expenditure of the Tyrian prince was hardly one-half.

in putting them together, when they were brought to the site of the Temple. The construction of this and of a royal palace lasted twenty years, and so long, no doubt, the yearly contributions of corn and oil continued. Besides these, Solomon ceded to Hiram a district of Galilee containing twenty towns[1], probably that in which the lake Merom lay, adjacent to the Tyrian territory.

The friendship of Hiram with David and Solomon gave rise to popular traditions which the scriptural accounts do not warrant. Solomon was said to have married a daughter of Hiram, which is not probable, since she could only have been a secondary wife; his queen being the daughter of a king of Egypt, and no mention is made of any other in Scripture. The golden pillar in the temple of Hercules at Tyre was said to be a present from Solomon, who sent to Hiram the gold which was not needed for the ornament of his own temple and palace. The fame of Solomon's wisdom and his sagacity in solving enigmas was widely spread; according to the Book of Kings, the queen of Sheba came to Jerusalem to propound hard questions to him, all of which he answered. The Tyrian tradition, on the contrary, represented him as having been foiled by Abdemon, who not only solved all the enigmas of Solomon, but proposed others in his turn, which the Jewish sovereign was unable to solve, and had to pay heavy forfeits to Hiram[2].

[1] 1 Kings, 9, 13. The scornful *pun* of Hiram, founded on the resemblance between כבול, the name of the district, and כ-בל, "like nothing," shows the identity of the Hebrew and Phœnician languages. Τὸ Χαβαλὼν κατὰ Φοινίκων γλῶσσαν, οὐκ ἀρέσκον σημαίνει. Jos. Ant. 8, 5. There is a place named Cabul, the Χαβωλὼ of Josephus (Vit. 43), near Acre. Ritter, xvi. 761.

[2] Jos. Cont. Ap. 1, 17.

The friendship of Tyre was essential to Solomon, in carrying out those commercial enterprises in which the Israelites now first engaged. The victories of David over the Edomites had given him the command of the Ælanitic Gulf, and Solomon had secured this possession by placing garrisons there; but without the aid of Tyrian navigators, the way thus opened to India and Africa would have been of little service. The ships were built by Solomon, and the supercargoes were his servants, but the mariners and pilots were furnished by Hiram. Ophir was the object of their voyage—a region variously identified with the south of Arabia, Sofala on the coast of Africa opposite to Madagascar, and India; the first was probably its locality, though the Jewish fleets may also have visited India[1].

The only other political circumstance recorded of Hiram's reign, is that he undertook an expedition against a people who had revolted and refused to pay their tribute, and that he returned after having reduced them to obedience. Their name has been variously corrupted, but the true reading appears to be *Kitians*[2], either the people of Citium, or the Cy-

[1] See Gen. 10, 29, where Ophir is clearly referred to southern Arabia. According to the common interpretation of 1 Kings, 10, 22, the Israelites also joined the Tyrians in their expeditions to Tartessus; but it is difficult to believe in such an abandonment of their principle of monopoly; and the mention of "peacocks" (Heb. תכי, Sanscrit *Togei*), a bird peculiar to India, leads to the conclusion that the אני תרשיש (1 Kings, 10, 22) are not ships going to Tarshish, but ships built for distant voyages, such as that to Tarshish, and that India was the real term of the voyage. The author of the Chronicles has, however, interpreted it of a voyage to Tarshish (2 Chron. 9, 21). Josephus, who understands Tarshish of Tarsus (Ant. 1, 6), renders here ἐν τῇ Ταρσίκῃ καλουμένῃ θαλάσσῃ (Ant. 8, 7, 2), without mention of peacocks, for whom he substitutes "Ethiopians."

[2] In Joseph. Ant. 8, 5. Ἠΰκέοις· in the same author, Cont. Ap. 1, 18, Τιτύοις, whence Κιτίοις has been elicited.

priotes generally. Citium had been founded from Sidon, and after that city lost its power had probably withdrawn from the allegiance which as a colony it was bound to pay. We are also informed that Hiram, besides building a temple to Hercules, first introduced the custom of celebrating his "awakening" in the month Peritius[1]. Menander gives the date according to the Macedonian calendar, adopted in Syria after the conquest of Alexander, it appears to answer to the middle of the month of February[2], and therefore had probably a reference to the awakening of the Sun, whom Hercules represented, at the beginning of spring. The idea of symbolizing the decay of the sun's warmth and light, as the decline and death of the god, and its recovery as his resurrection, runs through many ancient mythologies, it was also represented as a sleep, and its recovery as his awakening[3]. It is not clear from the language of Menander, whether Hiram introduced this ceremony into the Tyrian calendar of festivals, or only changed the time of its celebration. The former is the more probable, as a mere change of day would hardly have deserved a notice. It appears to have been originally more Syrian than Phœnician, and in fact only a modification of the rites of Adonis. We meet with no allusion to these among the earlier idolatries of the Israelites, but towards the time of the Captivity they made their way into Judah, and were among the chief of the abominations by which the Temple was desecrated[4]. The worship of the older divinity of the

[1] Πρῶτός τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔγερσιν ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνί. Jos. Ant. 8, 5.

[2] See the Tyrian Calendar in Ideler, Handbuch der Chronologie, 1, 435.

[3] Macrob. Sat 1, 21

[4] Ezek. 8, 14

Sidonians, Ashtoreth, which had been banished since the days of Samuel, was brought back, in consequence of the reception of Sidonian women into the harem of Solomon.

The brilliant reign of Hiram at Tyre, like that of Solomon at Jerusalem, was soon followed by political calamity. In the latter case the cause is evident, the welfare of the nation had been sacrificed to the splendour of the monarchy; the warning of Samuel had been fulfilled; the king had become a despot, and the people seized the earliest opportunity of throwing off the yoke of his weak and insolent successor, without, however, benefiting themselves by their change of dynasty. The same cause may have operated at Tyre, where the great works of Hiram were probably carried out by means of forced labour[1]. And though they were directed more to objects of public utility than those of Solomon, they would not be the less burdensome and distasteful to subjects who were compelled to engage in them. Rehoboam's kingdom of Judah was invaded by Sesonchis king of Egypt, and the temple and palace of Jerusalem stripped of the golden ornaments with which Solomon had enriched them; but he does not appear to have engaged in hostilities with the Phœnician cities, nor among the long line of shields on the wall of the palace of Karnak, is there any that can be referred with probability to Tyre and its dependencies[2]. The invasion of Zerach[3] or Osorchon did not reach beyond the south of Judah, and from this time the Egyptian kings confined themselves

[1] Solomon, we are told, employed only foreigners in his public works. This his father's conquests enabled him to do.

[2] Ancient Egypt, 2, 350.

[3] Ancient Egypt, 2, 354.

to their own land, till the advance of the Assyrian arms to the shores of the Mediterranean compelled them in self-defence again to take part in the politics of Palestine.

Baleazar, the son of Hiram, succeeded him[1], and reigned seven years; and again, Abdastratus, his son, for nine years. He was attacked and put to death by the four sons of his nurse, of course persons of plebeian birth, of whom the elder reigned twelve years. Astartus, the son of Balæastartus, succeeded, in whom the line of Hiram appears to have been restored[2]. He reigned nine years; and his brother Aserymus nine, when he was murdered by another brother, Phales, who, after a reign of only eight months, was himself murdered by Ithobaal, the priest of Astarte.

A late writer on Phœnician history[3] has connected the deposition and murder of Abdastratus with a narrative in Justin[4], which is given by him without any intelligible mark of time, but immediately after his account of the foundation of Tyre by the expelled Sidonians. During a time of public calamity, occasioned by an exhausting war, the slaves rose in insurrection, and having put not only their own masters but the whole free population to death, took possession of their houses, their property, and their wives. One slave only spared the life of his aged master named Strato,

[1] Joseph. c. Apion. 1, 18.

[2] See Movers, 2, 1, 340, who observes that in the Latin version of Ruffinus the son of Hiram is called Baleastartus instead of Baleazar, and Astartus, son of Baleastartus, instead of Deleastartus as in the present text of Josephus, or Eleastartus as in Syncellus.

[3] Movers, die Phönizier, 2, 1, 341.

[4] "Urbem Tyron (Sidonii) ante annum Trojanæ cladis condiderunt. Ibi Persarum bellis diu varieque fatigati victores quidem fuere; sed attritis viribus a servis suis multitudine abundantibus indigna supplicia perpessi sunt." Justin, 18, 3.

and his son; and pretending to have put them to death, kept them in a place of concealment. Meanwhile the slaves proceeded to reconstitute the state by the choice of a king from their own body; the dignity was to be bestowed on him who first saw the rising sun. When they were all assembled after midnight, in the public place, and their eyes directed towards the east, the slave, at the suggestion of his concealed master, kept his eye fixed upon the west, where the public buildings of the city lay. The first rays of the rising sun were visible in the reflection from their pinnacles, and the other slaves, who had accused him of folly in looking for the dawn in the west, were struck with the ingenuity of his device, which they thought to surpass the wit of a slave. He confessed that the suggestion came from his master, and the slaves acknowledging the superiority of the free-born intellect to their own, created Strato king, and after his death the kingdom descended to his son and his grandchildren. Justin connects this story with the wars of the Persians against Tyre and the time immediately preceding the siege by Alexander, and says that on taking the city, he crucified all the survivors, with the exception of the family of Strato, and renewed the population by freemen[1]. This account is quite inconsistent with the authentic history of Alexander, and the event has been ignorantly misplaced by Justin, whose neglect of chronology is notorious. The name of Strato is not unlike Astartus, if reduced to its consonants; nor is there any impro-

[1] "Celebre hoc facinus metuendumque exemplum toto orbe terrarum fuit. Itaque Alexander Magnus, expugnata eorum urbe omnes qui prælio superfuerant crucibus adfixit." Just. u. s.

bability in the supposition, that the lowest classes of the people rose in insurrection against the higher, whose numbers and wealth had been reduced by war, massacred them, and took possession of their property —or that a counter-revolution restored the monarchy.

Ithobaal, by whom the last of the descendents of Hiram was murdered, is the Ethbaal of Scripture, the father of Jezebel, wife of Ahab, a fanatical devotee of Baal and Ashtoreth, whose worship she endeavoured to establish in the kingdom of her husband, by the extermination of the prophets of Jehovah[1]. Her fierce and masculine character was unequally matched with the feebleness and vacillation of her husband, who wavered between his allegiance to Jehovah and the worship of the Phœnician deities. She survived him, but was put to death with ignominy a few years afterwards, when Jehu dethroned Joram, Ahab's son. Even in death she displayed the same undaunted spirit. Determined to die like the daughter and widow of a king, instead of going in the garb of a suppliant or asking for mercy, she put a crown on her head, and painted her eyes, and from the window of her palace bade defiance to Jehu, reproaching him as the murderer of his sovereign[2]. One remarkable circumstance connects the histories of Phœnicia and Judæa during this period. A drought of three years' duration is mentioned in the Book of Kings during the reign of Ahab; the annals of Tyre record a similar prodigy in the reign of Ithobaal[3], attributing

[1] 1 Kings, 16, 31.

[2] 2 Kings, 9, 30.

[3] Ἀβροχία ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνὸς, ἕως τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους Ὑπερβερεταίου. Jos. Ant. 8, 13. This month began on our October 17. Ideler, 1, 435. The language of the Book of Kings, 18, 1, does not imply more than that the drought lasted *into* the third year, by which the land had been two successive years deprived

the relief at length obtained to the prayers of the king. Of his reign nothing further is recorded, than that he built Botrys on the coast north of Sidon, and Auza, which, if it be the same as the Auzen of later geography, was in Numidia[1].

With Ithobaal began a new royal line at Tyre; he reigned thirty-two years, and was succeeded by his son Badezor, who reigned six years; and Badezor by his son Matgen, who reigned thirty-two years. Pygmalion, his successor, reigned forty-seven years, and in his seventh year his sister betook herself to flight and founded Carthage in Libya. Such is the simple historical account which Josephus has extracted from Menander[2]. According to this deduction, Carthage was founded 155 years and eight months after the building of the Temple at Jerusalem.

The various traditions which have come down to us of this event are a proof of the impossibility of drawing a chronological line which shall separate historical from mythical times. In the Tyrian annals, the flight of Pygmalion's sister and the foundation of Carthage were recorded in the simple form which we have quoted; in the traditions of Carthage it appears surrounded with those fabulous and romantic incidents in which the origin of states is usually enveloped. As the Carthaginian historians have perished, our knowledge of them is derived from the Latin writers; and a fresh element of uncertainty is introduced by the circumstance that some of these are poets, who have selected and combined events according to the requirements of their art. The most connected and

of its "early," i. e. autumnal rain. See p. 33.

[1] Tac. Ann. 4, 25. Ptol. 4, 2.

[2] Jos. c. Apion, c. 18.

apparently historical account is that of Justin[1]. Mutto, the Matgen of Josephus, at his death, left as his heirs, and we may presume therefore as joint sovereigns, his son Pygmalion and his daughter Elissa. The people, however, made Pygmalion sole sovereign, and Elissa was married to her uncle Acerbas (the Sicharbas or Sichæus of Virgil), the high priest of Hercules, a dignity second only to that of the king. His reputed riches, which he had buried in the earth for security, induced Pygmalion to put him to death, but his treasures did not fall into his murderer's hands[2]. Elissa began to meditate a plan of flight, and associated in her undertaking some of the chief men of the state, to whom the king was equally odious. Concealing her project, she pretended to Pygmalion that she had become weary of the sight of a place which reminded her of her loss, and wished to remove to his own residence[3]. Pygmalion heard of her design with joy, hoping that with her he should receive the treasures of Acerbas, and sent some of his officers to assist in her removal. With them she embarked[4] at nightfall, and put out to sea. She had previously packed up a quantity of sand in bags,

[1] Justin, 18, 5.

[2] According to Virgil, Æn. 1, 355, Pygmalion long concealed the death of Sicharbas from Dido, to whom it was revealed by the appearance of his shade. This is explained by the tradition that Pygmalion slew him when engaged in hunting, and left his body unburied. See Malala, p. 162, ed. Bonn.

[3] It does not appear where, according to this version of the story, Pygmalion and Elissa were respectively residing. If at no greater interval from each other than the island and Palæ-Tyrus, the expression "migrare ad se" would be inappropriate, the equipment of a fleet to transport herself and her treasures absurd, the concealment of her true purpose impossible. Was he supposed to be resident in Cyprus, where the name Pygmalion occurs in mythic history? This would not be consistent indeed with her subsequent voyage to Cyprus; but consistency is not to be looked for in a story put together from various legends, and with little regard to chronology.

[4] According to Servius, Æn. 1, 366 ("naves quæ forte paratæ

which had the appearance of holding treasure; and when they had reached the deep water, she compelled the crew to empty these into the sea, calling at the same time on the manes of Acerbas, and imploring him to receive, as a funereal offering, the riches which had been the cause of his death. Then addressing the officers of the king, she pointed out to them the certainty that if they fell into his power, they would endure the most cruel torments, as having been the means of disappointing his avarice. They were thus persuaded to accompany her; and being joined by a body of the senators, with whom a previous appointment had been made, they set sail for Cyprus, carrying with them the sacred things belonging to the worship of Hercules, whose priest Acerbas had been. In Cyprus they were joined by the priest of Jupiter, who stipulated for himself and his posterity the honour of a perpetual priesthood; and Elissa carried off from the shore eighty maidens, who had resorted thither to pay the accustomed tribute to the goddess of the island, to be the mothers of her destined colony. Pygmalion, informed of her flight, prepared to follow her, but was dissuaded by the entreaties of his mother and the threats of the gods. She reached Africa, and there founded Carthage, of whose site and early history we have already given an account[1].

We have here no doubt a narrative substantially

Corripiunt, onerantque auro"), the ships had been prepared to fetch corn from foreign countries.

[1] P. 148. The story of the fraud by which the Phœnicians obtained possession of the site of Carthage was variously told. According to one version, they bargained for occupation during *a night and a day*, and then claimed a right to remain permanently *by night and day*. Demon. Fragm. p. 23. *Φοινίκων συνθῆκαι* was a proverb for an artful stipulation. Suid. s. v.

historical, mixed up with other circumstances due to the fancy of poets, or the invention of those who wished to find in the history of the foundation of Carthage an explanation of its ceremonies and institutions. That the emigration was the work of an aristocratic party, oppressed by the sovereign, is attested by the predominance which the aristocratic element appears from the first to have maintained at Carthage. The jealousy between the sacerdotal and the monarchical power, which led Pygmalion to murder Sichæus, was natural, since Ithobaal, the priest of Astarte, had murdered the legitimate king, Phales The expression of Justin, that Pygmalion had been raised to sole power by the people, in violation of the testament of Ithobaal, indicates a coalition of the democracy with the monarch, for the depression of the aristocracy, which was of frequent occurrence where these three powers co-existed in the state. These circumstances are probably historical; for it was not in this department that invention was usually employed. Nor is it at all improbable that Cyprus, which was at this time a dependency of Phœnicia, should have borne a part in the colonization of Carthage. On the other hand, no traditions are less to be depended upon than those which relate the origin of religious rites and doctrines. The three great divinities of Carthage were Hercules or Melkarth, Jupiter (Belus or Baal), and Astarte. The story tells us that the sacred things belonging to the worship of Hercules had been carried off from Tyre by the fugitives; the priest of Jupiter joins himself to them at Cyprus, and Elissa or Dido, who was worshiped by the Carthagi-

nians[1], appears to have been no other than the goddess Astarte, whom the Greeks and Romans variously interpreted, from the comprehensive character of her attributes, as Juno, Diana, or Venus[2]. All that can be relied upon as historical truth is, that the sister of Pygmalion, and daughter of Ithobaal[3], fled from Tyre[4] with a considerable part of the aristocracy, and founded Carthage.

Our knowledge of the history of Tyre ceases with Dido's flight, at the end of the ninth century B.C.[5], and we hear nothing of its internal state till the reign of Elulæus, the contemporary of Shalmaneser. As we find it in that age governed by a king, we may conclude that it had remained free from revolution. Indeed, the monarchy must have been strengthened by the voluntary withdrawal of the most powerful part of the aristocracy. Carthage, notwithstanding the circumstances of its origin, did not neglect the duties of a colony towards the mother city, and for two centuries after its foundation it was not powerful enough to assume an attitude of rivalry. It was from the East, not the West, that danger impended; and in

[1] "Quamdiu Carthago invicta fuit pro dea culta est." Justin, 18, 6.

"Urbe fuit media sacrum genitoris Elissæ
Manibus."—Sil. It. 1, 81.

To convert a tutelary deity into a sovereign, and especially a founder, was a frequent device in extracting history from mythology.

[2] See Movers, Phœn. 1, 610.

[3] She is called "Sidonia Dido" by Virgil; but this is equivalent to Phœnician. Ethbaal, whom the Book of Kings (1, 16, 31) calls king of the Sidonians, was really king of Tyre. See Jos. Ant. 8, 14.

[4] *Dido* is said by Servius (Æn. 1, 344) to signify *virago*, a woman of masculine qualities. The Punic language furnishes no such etymology; nor of *πλανῆτις*, the explanation of the Etym. M. sub voc.; nor of *ἀνδροφόνος*, the meaning assigned to it by Eustathius, ad Dion. Per. 197. Elissa is probably אלית, a feminine form of אל, and Δειδώ, a Greek word, denoting her terrific qualities. The name is written Δειδών on the imperial coins of Tyre.

[5] See p. 147. Of the supposed sister of Dido, Anna, see p. 174.

the work of a Jewish prophet we find the first intimation of the source from which it should proceed. In the Jewish Scriptures also we must trace the progress of the power by which Phœnicia was threatened. Its own annals relate only the final catastrophe.

The series of these prophetic writings begins with Joel, who lived at the end of the ninth and beginning of the eighth century B.C. He never alludes to the Assyrians as among the enemies of Judæa, and therefore preceded by some years the reign of Pul, who in 771 invaded Palestine. The prophet complains with bitterness of the outrages committed by Tyre and Sidon, and the other maritime powers of Palestine, on the coasts of Judæa; they had not only plundered their gold and silver, and carried away their ornaments to place them as trophies in their temples, but had kidnapped their youths and maidens, and sold them as slaves to the Greeks[1]. Amos, whose age was nearly the same, as he was the contemporary of Uzziah and Jeroboam (823–758 B.C.), makes the same complaint, and threatens similar vengeance. The violence had been repeated, and aggravated by its being in contravention of a treaty[2]. The Idumæans, who carried on a trade in slaves, as the Midianites had done in the days of Jacob, had in this case been the purchasers, and are threatened with a judgement by which Teman and the palaces of Bozrah should be destroyed[3]. The picture which Homer gives of the practices of the Phœnicians in stealing slaves[4], is in exact accordance

[1] Joel, 3, 4, 6.

[2] Amos, 1, 9. "Tyre delivered up whole bodies of captives to Edom, and remembered not the covenant of brethren." This has been supposed to refer to the league between Hiram and Solomon (1 Kings, 5, 12), an event which seems too remote to have constituted an aggravation of the crime.

[3] Amos, 1, 6, 11.

[4] See p. 189, 205.

with the complaint of Joel. At this time there was no naval power that could resist them in the western parts of the Mediterranean; and Castor of Rhodes in his Epochs mentions this as the period of their maritime ascendency.

In Isaiah, who prophesied between 757 and the end of the eighth century B.C., we have a picture of the power of Tyre, previously to the invasion of Shalmaneser, which shows how little she had suffered from the emigration to Carthage. In the twenty-third chapter a series of denunciations against the neighbouring lands is closed with THE BURDEN OF TYRE.

Howl, ye ships of Tarshish!
For it is laid waste;
There is no house into which one may enter.
From the land of Cyprus the news is spread to them[1].

Be struck dumb, ye inhabitants of the island[2],
Which the merchant of Sidon, that passes over the sea, has filled.

The seed of the Nile by the wide waters,
The harvest of the River was her revenue[3]:
She was the mart of nations.

Be ashamed, O Sidon!
For the sea hath said, the strong place of the sea,
"I have not travailed, nor brought forth children;
I have not nourished young men, nor brought up maidens[4]."

When the report cometh to Egypt,
They shall tremble at the tidings concerning Tyre.

Pass over to Tarshish,
Howl, ye inhabitants of the isle!

[1] The ships of Tyre, on their return from Tartessus, entering the harbours of Cyprus, receive there the tidings of its desolation.

[2] Or the coast, אי.

[3] The harvests of Egypt supplied the wants of Phœnicia, which was at the same time enriched by carrying hither its wine, oil, and manufactures in metal and glass.

[4] To denote the utter depopulation threatened against Tyre, the sea, in the midst of which it stood, and of which her people are represented as the offspring, denies that she has ever borne children.

Is this your joyful city,
Whose antiquity is of ancient days?
Her feet shall carry her
Far off to sojourn in a strange land.

Who hath decreed this against Tyre,
The city that dispensed crowns[1],
Whose merchants were princes,
Whose traffickers (Canaanites) the honoured of the land?

Jehovah of Hosts hath decreed it,
To humble the pride of all glory,
To bring to contempt all the honoured of the land.

Pass through thy land like the Nile[2],
Daughter of Tarshish!
There is no longer any constraint.

He stretched out his hand over the sea,
He shook the kingdoms.
Jehovah hath given a command against Canaan
To destroy the strong holds thereof.

And he said, Thou shalt no more rejoice,
Dishonoured virgin, daughter of Sidon!
Arise, pass over to Cyprus!
There also thou shalt have no rest.

Behold the land of the Chaldeans!
This people was not (a people).
Ashur founded it for the dwellers in the Desert.
They raised up their watch-towers[3],
They have made its palaces a ruin.

Howl, ye ships of Tarshish!
For your strong place is laid waste.

The mention of the Chaldeans in this passage has led many commentators to suppose that the prophecy relates to the siege under Nebuchadnezzar, whose dynasty was more properly Chaldean; and others to

[1] From the predominance which Tyre enjoyed, the sovereigns of the other Phœnician cities could exercise royalty only by her authority and permission.

[2] In the original יאר, an Egyptian word for river, which in Scripture is appropriated to the Nile. See p. 132, note [1].

[3] These words (and indeed this whole verse) have been variously rendered and understood; but on the whole, the sense given in the text seems the most probable.

attribute a later age than that of Isaiah to this oracle. The manner in which the Chaldeans are spoken of, as having had no existence as a people, points however to an earlier æra than that of Nebuchadnezzar; and it is probable that this warlike nomadic tribe had been brought from their abodes in northern Mesopotamia by the Assyrian kings, and settled in the southern region which afterwards bore their name. Constituting the chief strength of the armies which invaded Palestine under Pul and his successors, it was natural that they should bear a principal part in the siege of Tyre, and that the prophet should single them out as its destroyers. The humiliation of this city of ancient days was aggravated by the circumstance, that Jehovah had decreed its destruction to proceed from a tribe which till recently had no name or place in history.

The discoveries in Assyrian antiquities will probably throw light on the rapid rise or expansion of the empire, of which Nineveh was the capital. Whatever its absolute antiquity may have been, it can scarcely have extended itself to the westward of the Euphrates before the middle of the eighth century B.C. In the south, the kingdom of David and Solomon included the region between Palestine and the river; their successors may have confined themselves within narrower limits, but it was not because they had come into collision with an Assyrian or Babylonian power. In the north, the Syrian kingdom of Damascus appears to have reached to the Euphrates, equally without opposition from Assyria. The great cities of Nineveh and Babylon had existed, no doubt, for ages; but they had hitherto been contented with the wealth

which the commerce of the East, the fertility of their own soil, and the beauty of their manufactures had supplied. Their intercourse with the countries lying on the Mediterranean had hitherto been carried on by means of the tribes of the Desert, who brought the productions of the East to Phœnicia, to be diffused over the West by its fleets. But when the Assyrian monarchy, by incorporating the Chaldeans, assumed a character so entirely military, the acquisition of the rich countries of Western Asia became immediately the object of its sovereigns' ambition. And in the midst of all the vicissitudes occasioned by the transference of empire from the Assyrians to the Babylonians, from the Babylonians to the Medes, and from the Medes to the Persians, this plan of conquest was steadily pursued, till the whole line of sea-coast from the eastern extremity of the Euxine to the western limits of Egypt had been brought into subjection. Independently of the spirit of military aggrandisement, which continued to actuate the Assyrian monarchy and its successors for nearly three centuries from Pul to Xerxes, reasons of public policy were not wanting to justify the desire of an extension of its dominion westward. The example of Macedonia under Philip, of Russia since the commencement of the last century, shows how earnestly a nation, awaking to a consciousness of its own position, and finding itself excluded from the sea, struggles to reach it, and by force or fraud gain a footing on the highway of nations.

The Assyrian monarchy united in itself the wealth which supplies the equipments and implements of war, and the military ardour of a people recently

reclaimed from the wildness of the nomadic life. The nations of Syria and Palestine were ill-prepared for resistance. The league of the Phœnician cities which was maintained by the ascendency of Tyre was powerful at sea, but weak in land-forces; and being compulsory, would readily be dissolved if the power of Tyre were lessened. The kingdom of Damascus had been engaged in hostilities with Israel and Judah from its first formation, and its extent and power had been reduced by the victories of Joash and Jeroboam II. The two kingdoms into which the monarchy of Solomon had been split, were bitterly hostile to each other; Ephraim envied Judah, and Judah vexed Ephraim. To secure their own power, or obtain revenge on rivals, the kings of each were willing to avail themselves of the assistance of Egypt or Assyria[1]. We have seen how unfriendly were their relations with Phœnicia, the Philistines, and Idumæa; the nations beyond Jordan had been reduced to subjection by Jeroboam, but were held by a precarious bond; and their more southern neighbours, Moab and Ammon, had long-standing causes of animosity against the Jews. No coalition could be expected among nations so divided. Israel and Judah from their position were capable of offering the most effectual resistance to an enemy seeking to possess himself of Palestine, and a league between them and the nations of the sea-coast, aided by the Syrians, who commanded the passes of Lebanon and the road to the Euphrates, might have stopped the progress of the Assyrians. The genius of the Jewish people, however, was quite adverse to any permanent union with its neighbours

[1] Hosea, 7, 11.

for a common object; the most zealous and patriotic part of the nation deprecated any co-operation with idolaters, whose influence in seducing them from the worship of Jehovah they justly dreaded. In the writings of the prophets the idea is everywhere inculcated, that the power of the great nations was to be broken by their mutual collision, in order that upon the ruins of all Jehovah might erect his own special kingdom, of which Zion should be the centre. They therefore strongly exhorted their countrymen to stand aloof, to seek no foreign alliance, to trust in the providence of God, and allow his purposes to be wrought out. Assyria was to humble Damascus, and Phœnicia, and Idumæa, and Egypt, and chastise the offences of Jerusalem; but, this work accomplished, Assyria itself was to be humbled[1]. These remonstrances were often rendered unavailing by the fears and hopes of the people, and the selfish purposes of the kings; but the hostility of an order of men whom the nation held in reverence would have been a powerful obstacle to any permanent coalition on the part of the Jews with the other nations who were threatened by the rise of the Assyrian power.

Menahem, king of Israel, had attained his dignity (771 B.C.) by the murder of Shallum, who had himself murdered Zachariah, the son of Jeroboam. He had not long been seated on the throne, when Pul the king of Assyria marched through Syria into Palestine. His expedition is represented as a hostile invasion; yet from the language of the prophet Hosea[2], it may seem as if two parties existed in the kingdom of

[1] Isaiah, 10, 12.

[2] "Ephraim is like a silly dove, without heart; they call to Egypt, they go to Assyria." Hos. 7, 11.

Israel, one inclining to an alliance with Egypt, and another with Assyria; and Menahem may have invited Pul, who came to receive the sum for which he had bargained to uphold him on the throne[1]. To reach Samaria he must have passed through Syria, which appears to have been reduced without a struggle into a state of dependence, as we have no account of any battle. Its power had been weakened by its own wars with the kings of Israel, who had conquered Damascus, and probably Assyria had aided it in recovering its independence, after the death of Jeroboam, the son of Joash[2], and by this means had acquired a control over Syria, which secured a free passage to the Assyrian armies. During the reign of Menahem we read no more of the Assyrians in Palestine; but when Pekah had usurped the throne of Israel, by the murder of the son of Menahem, they appear again, and this time with more decisive marks of hostility. Tiglath Pileser, the successor of Pul, marched (747 B.C.) into Galilee, and carried the inhabitants captive into Assyria[3]. The history does not inform us what was the provocation to this act of violence; a few years later (743 B.C.) we find that the kings of Syria and Israel were leagued for the dethronement of Ahaz the king of Judah[4], and it is not improbable that their purpose may have been, by setting a king of their own creation on the throne, to unite that kingdom with themselves, in opposition to Assyria. It is certain that Ahaz in his alarm looked

[1] "Pul the king of Assyria came against the land, and Menahem gave Pul 1000 talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand." 2 Kings, 15, 19.

[2] 2 Kings, 14, 28.

[3] 2 Kings, 15, 29.

[4] 2 Kings, 15, 37; 16, 5.

to Assyria for aid, and was dissuaded from seeking it by Isaiah, who described the power both of Syria and Israel as a firebrand nearly extinct, and prophesied their speedy destruction[1]. Ahaz did not obey the warning; when Rezin and Pekah had invested Jerusalem, he sent a message to Tiglath Pileser, promising him submission on condition of assistance, accompanied with a tribute of the gold and silver contained in the Temple and in his own palace. Tiglath Pileser accordingly invaded Syria, slew Rezin, king of Damascus, and carried the inhabitants into captivity[2]. Ahaz went to meet him at Damascus, and appears to have continued to pay tribute to Assyria, as we find him afterwards stripping both the Temple and his own palace of the works in brass which the Tyrian artists had executed for Solomon, to send them to the king of Assyria[3]. He was too politic, however, to do anything which should really strengthen Judah; for when Ahaz, pressed by an invasion of the Edomites and the Philistines, sent to him for succour, "he came and distressed him, but strengthened him not[4]."

The kingdom of Israel, deprived of its northern and most fertile provinces, and reduced to the district of Samaria, maintained a precarious existence till the reign of Shalmaneser, the successor of Tiglath Pileser. Hosheah, who had put Pekah to death, had been compelled by an invasion of Shalmaneser to become his tributary. But he must have perceived that his king-

[1] Isaiah, 7, 4; 17, 3.

[2] The fragment of an earlier author, which appears among the prophecies of Zechariah (9, 1–8), probably belongs to this age. The mention of Damascus and Hamath, Tyre and Sidon, and the cities of the Philistines as about to be destroyed, would be altogether unsuitable to the reign of Darius, when Zechariah lived.

[3] 2 Kings, 16, 17, 18; 2 Chron. 28, 21, 24.

[4] 2 Chron. 28, 20.

dom was only respited for a season, and sought to strengthen himself by an alliance with Egypt. From the time of Sheshonk (974 B.C.) and Osorchon (941 B.C.), that country had been governed by unwarlike sovereigns, and till the reign of Pul the policy of Assyria had not been such as to excite apprehension. But from that time every successive reign had increased its military power, and brought it closer to the frontiers of Egypt. It was now governed by the Ethiopian dynasty; and Sabaco, the Seva or So of the Scriptures, was a wise and politic prince, to whom the prospect of an invasion from Assyria would be the more formidable, as he had himself usurped the throne of Egypt[1]. Hosheah sent an embassy to him to propose an alliance, to which Sabaco probably agreed, since on the return of the ambassadors the king of Israel immediately renounced his allegiance to Shalmaneser. He was himself seized and imprisoned; Samaria was taken by a three years' siege, and the people carried away into captivity. No assistance was received from Egypt; it would have been difficult for an Egyptian army to have reached Samaria, while Judah, which occupied the south of Palestine, was friendly to Assyria. On the other hand, the danger to Egypt was not imminent, while Phœnicia kept possession of the sea-coast. Against her therefore the next efforts of Shalmaneser were directed.

We fortunately possess, in the Antiquities of Josephus[2], an extract from the History of Tyre by Menander, in which the expedition of Shalmaneser is related.

[1] Anc. Egypt under the Pharaohs, 2, 369.

[2] 9, 14.

"The name of this king," he says, "is preserved in the Tyrian records; for he undertook an expedition against Tyre when Elulæus reigned over them. And Menander, who wrote the annals, and translated the Tyrian records into Greek, gives testimony to these things, writing thus:—'And Elulæus, to whom they had given the name Pyas[1], reigned thirty-six years. The Cittæans having revolted, he sailed against them, and brought them back to their obedience.' Against them the king of Assyria having sent a force, overran the whole of Phœnicia, and having made peace with all, retired again. And Sidon and Ake (Aco) and Palæ-Tyrus, and many other cities, revolted from the Tyrians, and gave themselves up to the king of the Assyrians. The Tyrians, therefore, not having submitted to the king, he returned against them; the Phœnicians having united to man for him sixty ships, with eight hundred rowers. The Tyrians sailed against them with twenty-two ships, dispersed the opposing fleet, and took five hundred prisoners. For these things great honour accrued to all who were in Tyre. The king of Assyria therefore retired, having stationed guards at the river and the water channels, to prevent the Tyrians drawing water; and as this took place during five years, they held out, drinking water from excavated tanks. And this is what is written in the Tyrian records, respecting Shalmaneser, king of Assyria."

Elulæus, at some period prior to the Assyrian invasion, had succeeded in reducing to obedience the

[1] The words, *θεμένων αὐτῷ Πύας ὄνομα*, are wanting in some MSS. One reads Πύλας. See Havercamp. The remark was probably made because Pyas was the name best known in history.

revolted people of Citium in Cyprus[1]. Of his reign we know nothing further till this invasion of Phœnicia by Shalmaneser. He overran, without difficulty, the whole of the sea-coast, and having made peace with the cities, withdrew his army, according to the practice of the Assyrian monarchs, at the close of the campaign. Sidon, Palæ-Tyrus, and Aco[2], the three most important towns of Phœnicia, thus threw off their allegiance to Tyre. It retained however its own independence of Assyria, which hitherto possessed no fleet. But its command of Syria and Cilicia could not be regarded as secure, still less could operations against Egypt be undertaken while Tyre held the dominion of the sea. Shalmaneser returned, therefore[3], and being furnished with a fleet by the Phœnician cities, proceeded to attack the island of Tyre. Notwithstanding a great superiority of forces, the assailants were defeated, and Shalmaneser,

[1] The words of Josephus (Ant. 9, 14) are as follows :—Τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς Τυρίων ἀρχείοις ἀναγέγραπται· ἐστράτευσε γὰρ ἐπὶ Τύρον βασιλεύοντος αὐτοῖς Ἐλουλαίου. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ τῶν χρονικῶν ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, καὶ τὰ τῶν Τυρίων ἀρχεῖα μεταφράσας εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶτταν, ὃς οὕτως ἐδήλωσε· "Καὶ Ἐλουλαῖος, θεμένων αὐτῷ Πύας ὄνομα, ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τριάκοντα ἕξ. Οὗτος, ἀποστάντων Κιτταίων, ἀναπλεύσας προσηγάγετο αὐτοὺς πάλιν." Ἐπὶ τούτους πέμψας ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐπῆλθε Φοινίκην πολεμῶν ἅπασαν. The nearest antecedent to τούτους is no doubt Κιτταίων, but the writer's mind returned, after the quotation, to Τυρίων. Shalmaneser could not have subdued Cyprus, for want of a fleet, before he had reduced the sea-coast of Phœnicia, nor could Cyprus have *revolted* from Assyria, to which it had never belonged.

[2] Ἄκη, the reading of the Vatican MS., is preferable to Ἄρκη. Arca was not a maritime place, and its occupation could have availed nothing towards the object of Shalmaneser, which was to possess himself of a fleet. Aco had an excellent harbour.

[3] Two expeditions of Shalmaneser into Palestine are recorded in the 2nd Book of Kings, one at the commencement of the reign of Hosheah (ch. 17, 3), the other in his seventh year (18, 9). If those mentioned in the Phœnician history were the same, they took place respectively in the years 728 and 721 B.C. according to the common chronology. Movers places the accession of Hosheah in 707. 2, 1, p. 391.

again drawing off his army, left only a sufficient force behind him to prevent the inhabitants of the island from obtaining water from the mainland. As a maritime power could not be reduced by famine, he relied on thirst; but the Tyrians, though cut off from the fountain and aqueducts of Ras-el-ain and from the river Leontes, held out for five years, by means of the reservoirs in which they collected the rain-water. The quotation breaks off abruptly, without informing us of the result; but the expression that this blockade of the fountains lasted five years, and that the Tyrians held out during the whole of that time, rather points to the conclusion, that being found fruitless, it was raised at the end of that period and a peace concluded. The terms on which the peace was made were probably very favourable to Phœnicia, leaving its treasures untouched. Sennacherib boasts of the capture of Samaria by his predecessor (Is. chapters 36, 37), in his message to Hezekiah, and of the subjugation of Hamath and Arpad and Sepharvaim, but says nothing of any conquest of Phœnicia, or triumph over its gods. Tyre thus escaped the fate with which it had been threatened, but by the reduction of Palæ-Tyrus and the defection of its most powerful allies Sidon and Aco, it must have been greatly weakened, and prevented from any active hostility against Assyria. With the aid of the Phœnician navy it would not be difficult to reduce Cyprus. Of its conquest we have no positive evidence; but as Sennacherib, a few years later, encountered and defeated a Greek armament in Cilicia[1], opposite to Cyprus, it seems probable that the Assyrians had possession of its harbours. A tablet,

[1] Alex. Polyh. ap. Euseb. Chron. Arm. i. 42.

closely resembling in style and form that of Nahr-el-Kelb, has been found at Citium, and is now in the Museum of Berlin,—a record no doubt of Assyrian occupation, but whether in this or some subsequent reign cannot be decided, until more certainty has been attained in reading the cuneatic character[1]. The operations of Shalmaneser in Palestine appear not to have extended to the coast south of Aco. The Philistines, humbled by Uzziah, recovered their power under Ahaz[2], who vainly implored the aid of Assyria against them. In the year of the death of Ahaz[3], Isaiah threatened them with the desolation that should come upon them from the north; and the threat was fulfilled either in the victories of Hezekiah[4], who destroyed their fortifications as far as Gaza, or when Sargon, the successor of Shalmaneser, sent an army to invade their country, and took Azotus[5], in pursuance of the plan of the Assyrian monarchs, to push their conquests towards Egypt. Sennacherib attempted the invasion of that country and was repulsed, with the destruction of great part of his army.

The silence both of profane and sacred history respecting any renewal of war between Phœnicia and Assyria leads us to suppose, that during the last reigns of the Assyrian monarchy their relations were peaceful. Tyre maintained her independence and pursued her commercial enterprises. The cities on

[1] Layard (Nineveh, p. 400) supposes the king to whom it refers to be the same who carved the tablet near the Nahr-el-Kelb (p. 14), and who founded Khorsabad.

[2] 2 Chron. 28, 18.

[3] Isaiah, 14, 28–32.

[4] 2 Kings, 18, 8.

[5] Isaiah, 20. In the prophecy which stands among the oracles of Zechariah (see before, p. 376) the desolation of Philistia is foretold, and especially that in Ashdod men of foreign race should dwell. Comp. Nehemiah, 13, 23. Assyrian colonists were probably settled there, to secure the possession of this key of Egypt.

the mainland may have paid a tribute to Assyria; but more probably she was contented, as the fruit of her treaty with them, to employ their navy in her maritime enterprises. That the wealth and power of Tyre were rapidly retrieved is evident, from the next period of its history, when it sustained the attack of the whole force of the Babylonian empire.

While Assyria was quiescent, during the greater part of the seventh century B.C., Egypt had rapidly increased in power. Psammitichus (670 B.C.) had put an end to the Dodecarchy and reunited all the nomes into a single kingdom. He had obtained power by means of Greek and Asiatic mercenaries, and encouraged the visits of the Phœnicians to Naucratis. With them he appears always to have cultivated friendly relations, but to have endeavoured to expel the Assyrians by force from the sea-coast of Philistia. The war in Syria, which Diodorus[1] says he carried on with the aid of Greek and Arabian soldiers, was directed against Gaza and Azotus[2], the latter of which we know to have been in possession of the Assyrians.

[1] Diod. 1, 66.

[2] The harbours of Gaza and Ascalon are both called Majuma from the Coptic (see p. 29, note [4]), whence Movers infers that the Egyptians occupied both towns, and probably enlarged or created their harbours.

CHAPTER II.

WAR WITH BABYLONIA.

The decline of the Assyrian empire had been as rapid as its rise. After the unsuccessful expedition of Sennacherib against Egypt and Judæa, and his assassination by his sons, it appears to have maintained itself in the possession of its actual dominions, but to have made no new conquests, during the reign of Esarhaddon. The first step towards its dismemberment was the assumption of independence by Babylon, which, since the æra of Nabonassar (747 B.C.), had been governed by princes of its own, but subordinate to the Assyrian kings of Nineveh. This partial dependence appears to have been exchanged for independence, after the death of Esarhaddon. The defection of the Medes from the alliance of Assyria was still more formidable, as they soon became its assailants. Cyaxares attempted the reduction of Nineveh as early as 634 B.C., but had been compelled to desist by the invasion of the Scythians. These barbarians swept over Assyria and Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine; they left the traces of their temporary abode at Bethshan (thence called Scythopolis) in Judæa, and reached even the frontiers of Egypt; but the maritime cities of Phœnicia appear to have escaped their ravages. When they retired, enervated by the climate and the manners of Syria, the Medes, now joined by the Babylonians, resumed their enterprise against

Nineveh, and captured it in the year 606 B.C. The immediate result of this event was the aggrandizement of Babylon. If we could rely on the account of Berosus, Nabopolassar, who had succeeded to the throne of Babylon in 625 B.C., held Egypt, Syria and Phœnicia under his dominion and governed them by a satrap[1]. This satrap having revolted, Nabopolassar, who was too far advanced in years to endure the fatigue of warfare, sent his son Nebuchadnezzar to reduce him to subjection, which Nebuchadnezzar accomplished, and all these countries came again under the Chaldean monarchy. This account, however, is inconsistent both with the Jewish and the Egyptian annals, which in this period are full and precise, and derives no confirmation from anything that we know of Phœnicia. The Egyptians had indeed suffered a great defeat from the Chaldeans. Neco, the son of Psammitichus, following the footsteps of his predecessors, Thothmes, Rameses, and Sesonchis, had marched through Syria to the banks of the Euphrates. His expedition probably took place just after the capture of Nineveh, and was intended to secure to him the possession of Palestine, which must necessarily fall either to Egypt or Babylonia in the impending struggle between these two great powers. By the defeat of Josiah at Megiddo he obtained possession of Palestine; but at Carchemish (Circesium) on the Euphrates, his army was routed by Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians; he lost all his conquests and "came no more out of his land; because the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to

[1] Richter, Berosus, p. 65. Jos. Ant. 10, 11. Cont. Apion, 1, 19, 20

the king of Egypt[1]." Both Judæa and Phœnicia soon felt the effects of the ascendency which the Chaldean power had gained in western Asia. Jehoiakin, the king of Judah, was carried away captive to Babylon, and his capital occupied by the army of Nebuchadnezzar. Probably Phœnicia was at this time in league with the Chaldeans, for we find that Apries, the successor of Neco, did not, in the first instance, attempt to dispossess them of the inland country of Palestine, but took Sidon by storm, engaged the navy of Tyre, and reduced not only Phœnicia, but Cyprus, thus bringing under his control the entire naval force of the eastern part of the Mediterranean[2]. The successes of Apries tempted Zedekiah, the king of Judah, to renounce his allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar, and the march of an Egyptian army compelled the Chaldeans to withdraw from before Jerusalem. But they soon returned; the Egyptian troops retired, and Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar (587 B.C.), who soon proceeded to the reduction of the sea-coast. The retreat of the Egyptian army left the cities on the mainland at his mercy. Sidon was probably taken by assault, as Ezekiel[3] describes the fearful carnage of her streets, and many chiefs of the other northern Phœnician cities appear to have fallen in battle.

The resistance of Tyre gave rise to one of the most memorable sieges in ancient history. A fragment

[1] 2 Kings, 24, 7.

[2] Kenrick's Ancient Egypt, 2, 415. Herod. 2, 161. Ἐπί τε Σιδῶνα στρατὸν ἤλασε καὶ ἐναυμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. Diod. 1, 68.

[3] 28, 23. "I will send upon Sidon pestilence and blood in her streets. And the wounded shall fall in the midst of her, by the sword which shall be upon her from every side." 32, 30. "There" (in Hades) "are the princes of the North, all of them and all the Sidonians, who are gone down with the slain."

from the Tyrian annals preserved by Josephus (Ant. 10, 11), comes again to supply the deficiency of other sources. The historical books of Scripture contain no account of this event—a circumstance, however, not difficult to be explained, when we consider that Jerusalem had been taken and its people carried captive before the siege of Tyre began[1]. According to Josephus, who quotes both the Tyrian annals (probably as translated by Menander), and Philostratus in his Phœnician history, Nebuchadnezzar, in the seventh year of his own reign, began the siege of Tyre, of which Ithobaal was then king, and besieged it for thirteen years. The date assigned, the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, appears to be erroneous, as it would imply that the Chaldean monarch engaged in the siege of Tyre, while a place of such strength in his rear as Jerusalem was still unsubdued, and is besides inconsistent with Josephus' own reckoning of the interval between the capture of Jerusalem and the accession of Cyrus[2]. It was in the prospect of this siege that Ezekiel, himself a captive on the banks of the river Chebar, uttered that prophecy of the destruction of the ancient enemy of his country, on which we have already commented.

It is evident that Tyre, as it presented itself to the mind of the prophet, still comprehended two cities, locally distinct, but politically united, one on the

[1] See Hengstenberg de Rebus Tyriorum, p. 38 seq. That the attack on Tyre followed the capture of Jerusalem is evident from Ezek. 26, 2, 3. "Because Tyre hath said against Jerusalem, She is broken that was the gate of the nations: I shall be replenished, now she is laid waste. Therefore thus saith the Lord: Behold, I am against thee, O Tyre, and will cause many nations to come up against thee."

[2] Jos. Ant. 10, 11. c. Apion. 1, 21.

mainland of Phœnicia, the other on the island. Many parts of the description would be inapplicable to insular Tyre. For example:—"I will bring against Tyre Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, king of kings, from the north; with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and with a company of much people. He shall set up a tower against thee, and cast up a mount and lift up the buckler against thee; and his battering-rams shall he set against thy walls, and thy towers he shall break down with mattocks. By the abundance of his horses their dust shall cover thee; by the sound of the horsemen, and of the carriages, and of the chariots, thy walls shall shake. With the hoofs of his horses shall he tread on all thy streets; they shall spoil thy substance and make a prey of thy merchandise, and shall destroy thy walls and break down thy pleasant houses, and thy stones, and thy wood, and thy earth they shall lay in the midst of the waters[1]." Chariots and horsemen, battering rams and mattocks would be much out of place in the attack of an island, separated by a deep strait from the land, and not connected with it by any artificial causey, such as Alexander raised. The description of the unrequited labours of the siege give no indication of a maritime assault. "Every head was made bald," by the perpetual pressure of the helmet; "every shoulder was excoriated," either by carrying the loads of earth, necessary for raising the lines of circumvallation[2], or the prolonged pressure of the cuirass. On the other hand, insular Tyre cannot be excluded from the description in such passages as these:—"Thine heart, saith Jehovah, is lifted up, and thou hast said,

[1] Ezek. 26, 7–12.
[2] Ezek. 29, 18.

I am a god, I sit in the seat of God, in the heart of the seas." "All thy warriors that are in thee, and all thy company that is in the midst of thee shall fall in the heart of the seas in the day of thy fall." "How art thou destroyed, that wast inhabited by seafaring men, the renowned city that wast strong in the sea[1]!" We must therefore conclude that not only did Palæ-Tyrus still exist, but that it was a place of great extent and strength, which was capable of holding out against a numerous army, abundantly furnished with all the implements of war.

It is singular that of the issue of this siege, as of that by Shalmaneser, we have no precise account. The Tyrian historians mention its length, but not its termination; Berosus, quoted by Josephus[2], asserted that Nebuchadnezzar "subdued all Syria and Phœnicia," with which the Phœnician annals agreed: but this, if the testimony could be relied on, does not necessarily imply that the island of Tyre was reduced by him. The silence of the Tyrian historians might be interpreted as indicative, that they found no cause of glorying in the final issue of the siege. The fact, however, mentioned by Jerome in his Commentary[3], that those who had examined the Phœnician and Greek histories, and especially Nicolaus of Damascus, found no mention of an assault of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, is more decisive; nor will the modern critic be satisfied with the answer of Jerome, who instead of alleging any counter-authority, complains of the perfidy and mendacity of the profane historians, who had omitted many things found in Scripture. Jerome

[1] Ezek. 28, 2. 26, 17.
[2] Cont. Apion. 1, 20. Richter, p. 67.
[3] Jer. Comm. ad Ezek. 26, 7.

himself assumed, as many have done since[1], that the capture must have taken place, because it was predicted by Ezekiel. The prophet himself, however, intimates that the Babylonian monarch had been disappointed of his prey. At the interval of sixteen years from the prophecy of the destruction of Tyre[2], consequently after hearing of the termination of the siege, he declares that Nebuchadnezzar had received no wages for the hard service of himself and his army before Tyre, and he is promised as a substitute the spoil of Egypt That he took and destroyed Palæ-Tyrus cannot be doubted, as it remained a ruin to the time of Alexander, and no other event than the attack of Nebuchadnezzar can be alleged as the cause of its being in this state To explain how its capture should have yielded him no "wages," it is supposed that the inhabitants had withdrawn with their valuables to the island, to which Nebuchadnezzar, having no ships, could not follow them; or that they had fled to the more distant dependencies of Tyre. This happened, according to Jerome, when Nebuchadnezzar had nearly completed a dam, like that afterwards constructed by Alexander, joining the island to the shore, and when the walls were already shaken by his battering rams This explanation, however, is contradicted by the silence of the Greek and Phœnician writers respecting any assault by Nebuchadnezzar on Tyre (the Tyre of their days, that is the island), and he alleges no authority for it. Had Nebuchadnezzar constructed with stones and earth a dam from which his machines could already shake the walls of Tyre, some trace of such a

[1] Reland, Pal. 1050. "Deus prædixerat; Hoc sufficit. Res ita evenit ut prædicta est, etsi nulli veterum id literis consignassent."

[2] Ezek 29, 17.

work must have appeared in subsequent times, and have been noticed in the history of Alexander's siege[1]. Alleged as it is without authority, by Jerome, it can only be regarded as originating in the assumption, that every threat contained in the prophetical writings must have had an historical accomplishment[2].

Probably Nebuchadnezzar, finding himself unable effectually to assail the island of Tyre, to which the inhabitants of Palæ-Tyrus had retired with their riches, or to reduce it by a similar blockade to that which Shalmaneser had established, withdrew his forces, upon some nominal submission made by the Tyrians, which left their native sovereigns on the throne, their wealth untouched, and their naval power at their own disposal. We find no mention of any such employment of the Phœnician fleets by the Babylonians, as afterwards by the Persians and Macedonians and previously by Shalmaneser. Ithobaal, the king at the commencement of the war, was succeeded by Baal, whose name indicates that he was a native[3]. The subsequent changes show internal commotion, but not subjection to a foreign power. Judges, or Suffetes, took the place of kings. Ecnibalus, the son of Baslachus, exercised the office for two months; Chelbes, the son of Abdæus, for ten months; Abbarus, the high priest, three months; Mutgonos and Gerastratus, the son of Abdelemus, for

[1] Arrian says, Ἔστι δὲ πορθμὸς τεναγώδης τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης βραχέα καὶ πηλώδη αὐτοῦ. 2, 18. This was the character of the Phœnician coast elsewhere (see p. 29, note [5]), and therefore is no indication of the remains of a dam, which instead of a muddy bottom would have left a ridge of stone over which the sand would have accumulated, as it has done over that constructed by Alexander.

[2] On the opposite sides of this question, see Hengstenberg, quoted before, and Gesenius on Isaiah, 23.

[3] Jos. c. Apion. 1, 21.

six years, interrupted[1] by the temporary sovereignty of Balatorus, which lasted for one year. On his death, the Tyrians sent to Babylon for Merbalus; who reigned four years. He was probably one of the royal family, who had taken refuge at the Chaldean court when the rule of Suffetes was substituted for that of kings, and his appointment to the throne appears to have been the spontaneous act of the Tyrian people[2]. He reigned four years, and at his death was succeeded by his brother Eiromus, or Hiram, who had also been called from Babylon to assume the sovereignty. During the reign of Eiromus, Cyrus made himself master of the monarchy by the capture of Babylon in the year 538 B.C.; and we thus reach a new period of Phœnician history, under the ascendency of Persia. Sidon became a royal residence[3], a circumstance which explains the precedence given to its king in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece[4].

[1] Ὧν μεταξὺ ἐβασίλευσε Βαλάτορος ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα. The summing up of the time shows that this year was included in the six.

[2] Ἀποστείλαντες μετεπέμψαντο Μέρβαλον ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος. Jos. c. Apion. 1, 21. Hengstenberg and Movers suppose that the royal family of Tyre were kept as hostages at the court of Babylon, and imposed as rulers on the Tyrians.

[3] Diod. 16, 41. Brisson. Regn. Pers. 1, 78. It is not expressly said that the royal *paradise* was near Sidon, but no part of the Phœnician territory was so well suited to it as the pleasant and fertile Sidonian plain.

[4] Her. 8, 67. Ἵζοντο πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὤλλοι.

CHAPTER III.

PHŒNICIA UNDER THE PERSIANS.

ALTHOUGH Tyre does not appear to have lost its independence in its wars with Nebuchadnezzar, it was impossible that it should endure a siege of thirteen years without great injury to its prosperity. At the commencement of the Babylonian war it was evidently at the head of the Phœnician states; the people of Sidon and Aradus furnished its fleet with mariners and soldiers; the artisans of Byblus wrought in its dockyards[1]. But from this time the pre-eminence of the Tyrians is lost. Amasis dispossessed them of Cyprus, though a family of Tyrian origin seems to have acquired the sovereignty in Salamis[2], which they retained till deprived of it by Evagoras. We do not find any mention made of the Phœnician naval states, as forming a part of the alliance into which the Babylonians, Lydians and Egyptians entered, for the purpose of resisting the danger which threatened them all from the rising power of Cyrus[3]. But whether they were connected during this time with Babylon, or, as is more probable, with Egypt, whose power had revived under Amasis[4], they would be

[1] Ezek. 27, 8, 9, 11.

[2] Herodotus (7, 104) mentions a succession of four Salaminian kings, Euethon, Siromus, Chersis, Gorgus. The name Siromus (Eiromus, Hiram) is clearly Phœnician. Isocrates, Evag. (ed. Battie, p. 79, 1, 2, 98) relates that a Phœnician exile, having obtained the confidence of the king of Salamis, usurped the throne, and, dreading a revolution, gave up the whole island to the Persians.

[3] Herod. 1, 77.

[4] Anc. Egypt, 2, 430.

equally in opposition to the policy of Persia; and it was as a preparatory step towards obtaining possession of the sea-coast, that Cyrus secured himself an ally in Palestine, by showing the Jews other marks of favour, and allowing them to rebuild Jerusalem, in doing which they availed themselves of the aid of Sidon and Tyre[1] in felling timber on Lebanon. Without this security, it would have been very impolitic in Persia to allow the fortification of a place of such natural strength as Jerusalem[2]. During the whole of his reign we find no mention made of his employing the Phœnician navy in his enterprises, which indeed were exclusively military. Towards its close he unquestionably meditated an expedition against Egypt; but his attention was drawn off to the nomadic nations on his north-eastern frontier, in warfare with whom he lost his life[3]. Xenophon indeed attributes to him the conquest of Cyprus, Phœnicia and Egypt, in his Cyropædia[4]; but his assertion has not obtained credit. Cambyses his son almost immediately undertook an expedition against Egypt, in which he employed the naval forces of the Phœnicians. Both Cyprus and Phœnicia gave themselves up unresistingly[5] to the power which was evidently destined to inherit the ascendency in Western Asia, previously

[1] Ezra, 3, 7.

[2] See the remonstrances of the Samaritans and others (Ezra, 4, 16): "If this city be builded, and the walls thereof set up, the king shall have no portion on this side the river."

[3] Herod. 1, 201–214.

[4] Cyrop. 1. 1. 8. 6. It appears to have been the purpose of Xenophon to exalt Cyrus, by representing his dominion as bounded only by the barriers of nature; cold on the north, heat on the south, the sea on the west, uninhabitable deserts on the east. *Τούτων τὰ πέρατα τὰ μὲν διὰ θάλπος, τὰ δὲ διὰ ψύχος, τὰ δὲ διὰ ὕδωρ, τὰ δὲ δι' ἀνυδρίαν δυσοίκητα.* To this exaggeration he sacrifices historical truth.

[5] Herod. 3, 19. *Φοίνικες σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκεσαν Πέρσῃσι.* Niebuhr, Lect. Anc. Hist. 1, 99.

possessed by Babylon. Gaza, the strongest place in the vicinity of Egypt, which was perhaps garrisoned by Egyptian troops, stood a siege, and from its strength was made after its capture the place of deposit for his stores and treasures by Cambyses[1]. When the conquest of Egypt was effected, he wished to attack Carthage; but the Phœnicians refused, alleging the religious obligations which forbade them to take part in a war against their own descendents. Cambyses had no means of compelling them; he had no fleet of his own; they had given themselves up, by preference rather than necessity, to the Persians. The Cyprians had not the same motive as the Phœnicians for refusing to act against Carthage; but the strength of the naval armament lay in the Phœnician ships, and Cambyses desisted from his project.

In the more perfect organization both of its revenues and its forces which the Persian monarchy owed to Darius, the navy of Phœnicia became a regular and very important part of the public power. By its means Darius made himself master of the islands on the coast of Asia Minor[2] Along with Palestine and Cyprus it formed the fifth of the twenty nomes into which his empire was divided[3], and they paid jointly a tribute of 350 talents,—just half the money-tribute which was levied from Egypt. Although these nomes are called by the general name of satrapies, and had each a separate governor[4], it does not appear that the

[1] Polybius, who mentions this siege (16, 40), not noticed by Herodotus, praises the fidelity of the Gazæans to the king of Egypt, which implies a previous alliance.

[2] Thuc. 1, 16. Plat. Menex. c. 9

[3] Her. 3, 91. This nome began at Posidium, as the boundary between Cilicia and Syria. See p. 2

[4] The satrap of Syria and Palestine is called in the Book of Ezra, 5, 6, "governor on this side

internal constitution of the several kingdoms was disturbed; at least, in Phœnicia and in Cyprus the native princes continued to reign.

The commercial prosperity of Tyre and Sidon remained unimpaired, except by the rivalry of their own colonies of Carthage and Cadiz; for the Persians, like the Turks and Tartars, never became themselves a maritime power. The rich traffic of Arabia and the East still passed through the hands of the Phœnicians, and their manufactories of purple and glass were in full activity. When Democedes was sent with a body of Persian commissioners to explore the coasts of Greece, preparatory to the expedition which Darius meditated against it, Phœnicia furnished the two armed triremes and the storeship in which they embarked on their voyage[1]. When a little later he undertook his Scythian expedition, we read of no Phœnician vessels being employed, the Ionian Greeks then furnishing the large naval armament which assembled in the Euxine, at the mouth of the Danube, to assist in the enterprise, and guard the bridge which was thrown across that river. By thus trusting the safety of his whole army to the fidelity of a people whom he had recently reduced to slavery, he exposed it to the most imminent danger; and had not the interests of the tyrants of the Ionian cities been opposed to that of the people, the bridge would have been broken down, and Darius and his troops have perished in the Scythian desert[2]. A few years after, however (502 B.C.), the Ionian cities, aided by Athens, were in open revolt

the river." No such officer is mentioned before the reign of Darius.

[1] Herod. 3, 133.

[2] Herod. 4, 97, 134.

against Persia, and Cyprus, where the Greek population preponderated over the Phœnician, joined in the revolt[1], with the single exception of Amathus, which was consequently besieged by the Salaminians. Phœnicia itself furnished the fleet by which these provinces were reduced to obedience[2]; and throughout the long struggle between Greece and Persia, which began with the burning of Sardes, the Phœnicians constituted the naval strength of the Persian armaments. The Cilician and Egyptian troops, destined for the reduction of Cyprus, were conveyed to that island in Phœnician ships. In the conflict by sea and land which subsequently took place, the Phœnician fleet was defeated by that of the Ionian Greeks; but the Persians having been at the same time successful by land, the revolt was suppressed, and Cyprus, after a year's independence, returned to its subjection[3]. The Persian commanders proceeded from the conquest of Cyprus to attack the Ionian cities themselves. A naval force of 600 vessels was assembled for the reduction of Miletus, the city of Aristagoras, by whom the Ionian revolt had been instigated, among which the Phœnicians were conspicuous for their zeal and bravery[4]. In the sea-fight off the island of Lade, opposite to Miletus, they defeated the Ionians, who were deficient in naval training and discipline, and weakened by the defection of the greater part of the Samians[5]. The conquest of Miletus speedily followed; and the Phœnician fleet, having subdued the islands of Asiatic Greece, crossed over to the Thracian Cher-

[1] Herod. 5, 104.

[2] Herod. 5, 108, 109.

[3] Herod. 5, 112, 116.

[4] Herod. 6, 6. Τοῦ ναυτικοῦ Φοίνικες ἔσαν προθυμότατοι, συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι.

[5] Herod. 6, 14.

sonesus. Miltiades, afterwards the conqueror of Marathon, narrowly escaped capture by one of their vessels, and his son Metiochus fell into their hands[1]. It was no doubt by means of the Phœnician fleet, as well as that of the Ionians, that the islands of the Ægean were reduced[2], and the land-forces of Persia conveyed to Marathon, though no specific mention is made of them in the subsequent operations.

When Xerxes carried out the project of a renewed invasion of Greece, which Darius had been prevented by death from executing, we find the Phœnicians bearing a conspicuous part among the naval forces which he assembled for that purpose. To them, in conjunction with the Egyptians, was committed the construction of the bridges of boats, by which the Hellespont was passed[3]. They had been long preparing ropes of great strength, composed of flax, for the purpose of fastening the boats together; the Egyptians using the papyrus for the same purpose. The strength of the current, aided by a violent storm, carried away the bridge; and Xerxes, having caused the engineers to be beheaded, gave orders for the construction of a second, in which the same materials of flax and papyrus were employed, but combined for greater strength. The Phœnicians were also engaged in the construction of the canal, by which Xerxes cut through the isthmus which joins Mount Athos to the mainland, thus avoiding the fate which had befallen the fleet of Mardonius. They alone had sufficient

[1] Herod. 6, 41.

[2] Herodotus, 6, 118, mentions a gilded image of Apollo carried off by a Phœnician vessel from Delium in Bœotia, opposite to Chalcis, which Datis deposited in the temple of Delos, that it might be restored to its original place.

[3] Herod. 7, 34.

experience in works of this kind to make the sides of their excavation a gradual slope; the other nations who were employed in it dug perpendicularly down, and increased their own labour by the falling in of the sides[1]. Before crossing the Hellespont, Xerxes mustered his troops near Abydos, and caused his naval forces to try their skill and speed against each other by a contest in the Straits, in which the Phœnicians of Sidon were victorious over the Greeks as well as over the other barbarians[2]. They furnished to the armament which assembled at Doriscus and the mouth of the Hebrus, 300 ships; the Egyptians sending 200, and the people of Cyprus 150. The names of their several commanders, probably their kings, have been preserved by Herodotus; Tetramnestus the son of Anysus the Sidonian; Mapen the son of Sirom the Tyrian; Merbal the son of Agbal the Aradian[3]. The crews were armed with helmets resembling those of the Greeks, cuirasses of quilted linen, spears, and shields not strengthened by a rim of metal. In the battle of Artemisium they distinguished themselves less than the Egyptians[4]; but at Salamis they were stationed over against the Athenians, and the first shock of the fleets was between a Phœnician trireme, and that commanded by Ameinias the brother of Æschylus[5]. They fell, however, under the displeasure of the tyrant. Such was the confusion among the ships crowded in

[1] Her. 7, 23. Οἱ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἔν τε τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ, κ.τ.λ.

[2] Her. 7, 44. 96.

[3] Her. 7, 98.

[4] Her. 8, 17.

[5] Her. 8, 84, 85. Artemisia, dissuading Xerxes from a sea-fight with the Greeks, speaks very contemptuously of all his naval forces with the exception of the Phœnicians. Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Κύπριοι, καὶ Κίλικες, καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὄφελός ἐστι οὐδέν. Her. 7, 68. Diod. 11, 18.

the narrow strait, that they ran foul of each other; several Phœnician vessels had been sunk by the Ionians, and the Phœnicians complained of this, as an act of wilful treachery, to Xerxes, who from his silver-footed throne overlooked the scene of action. At the moment of their complaint it happened that an extraordinary display of agility and valour was made by the crew of a Greek vessel in the Persian service. This coincidence turned the wrath of Xerxes, who was irritated by defeat, on the heads of the Phœnicians; he charged them with imputing their own cowardice to the Ionians[1], and a number of them were beheaded by his orders. If Diodorus[2] may be believed, apprehending still further outrages when his discomfiture was more decided, they sailed away in a body after the battle, first to Attica, and afterwards to Asia. Their transports remained, and were employed in the construction of the bridge to Salamis, by which Xerxes endeavoured to conceal his purpose of flight[3]. But no mention is made of their fleet among the forces which mustered at Samos in the following spring, and co-operated with Mardonius in his campaign in Bœotia; nor did they bear a part in the battle of Mycale, where the remnant of the Persian navy was destroyed on the same day which sealed the fate of their land-forces at Platæa.

We do not hear again of the Phœnician navy, until the Athenians, who had been left predominant in Greece and at the head of her naval confederacy, transferred the war to Cyprus and the coast of Cilicia. A Persian fleet, under the command of Pherendates and Tithraustes, was stationed off this coast, which

[1] Her. 8, 90. [2] Diod. 11, 19. [3] Her. 8, 97.

had become again a naval frontier between Persia and Greece, since Athens had reduced the Ægean islands into subjection, and ruled the Asiatic Greeks. It amounted to at least 200 triremes, and was composed, if not wholly, in great measure of Phœnician vessels. Cimon commanded a Grecian fleet, probably of not much inferior strength. The Phœnicians were anchored near the mouth of the Eurymedon in Pamphylia, and were in no haste to engage, as they expected a reinforcement of eighty ships from Cyprus. Cimon, aware of their approach, forced the enemy to battle before their arrival; and having driven them on shore, landed with his troops, and on the same day defeated the land-forces of the Persians, who were drawn up to defend the fleet, of which he captured a hundred vessels[1]. This battle of the Eurymedon took place in the year 466 B.C. A few years later (461) we find the Athenian forces still engaged in hostility with the Phœnicians, on the shores of Syria, to which the war had extended in consequence of the revolt of Inaros in Egypt. The Athenians had a fleet of 200 triremes off the coast of Cyprus, from which they detached forty to assist Inaros, who had promised to share with them the sovereignty of Egypt. An interesting monument, found at Athens, records the deaths of members of the Erechtheid tribe in the same year in Cyprus, Egypt and Phœnicia, besides several places in Greece[2],

[1] From the tenth of the spoil the Athenians consecrated a votive offering to Apollo, with an inscription containing these lines:—

Οἵδε γὰρ ἐν Κύπρῳ Μήδους πολλοὺς ὀλέσαντες
Φοινίκων ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἕλον ἐν πελάγει.

Diod. 11, 62.

No account can be more authentic than this; others make the number 200 (Thuc. 1, 100), 350, or 600 (Plut. Cim. 12).

[2] Montfaucon, Palæogr. Græca, p. 134. Böckh, Corp. Inscr. 1, p. 292.

so vast was the extent of their naval and military operations. When the Persian generals, Artabazus and Megabyzus, mustered their troops in Cilicia for the reconquest of Egypt, they marched through Syria and Phœnicia, gathering the naval forces of this latter country on their way. After the main body of the Athenians had surrendered in the island Prosopitis, a reinforcement of fifty triremes, which had sailed into the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, in ignorance of what had happened, was attacked by the Phœnician fleet and almost entirely destroyed[1]. The Athenians being thus threatened with the loss of their ascendency in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, Cimon, the conqueror at the Eurymedon, was sent with a fleet of two hundred triremes to occupy Cyprus[2]. He attacked Citium, but died before it was reduced; his successor, Anaxicrates, hearing of the approach of a Phœnician and Cilician armament, sailed out to meet them, and defeated them off Salamis in Cyprus. Many of their ships were sunk, a hundred with their crews taken, and the remnant pursued to the coast of Phœnicia. This success, however, was not followed up by the Athenians, who returned almost immediately to their own country. Whether any formal convention was entered into between them and the Great King, by which, being left in unmolested possession of Cyprus, he bound himself not to send his war-ships westward of the Chelidonian islands, is a much-disputed question[3]. Whether in virtue of a treaty or not, hostilities ceased in fact in these eastern

[1] Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, 2, 486.

[2] Diod. 12, 3.

[3] See Dahlmann, Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte, vol. 1 (Cimonische Friede), Grote, 5, 452.

waters, after the year 449 B.C. The Phœnician navy still continued to be employed by Persia, but was no longer exposed to the destructive defeats which it had endured from the Athenians. During the latter part of this century the Greeks were destroying each other in the Peloponnesian war. The co-operation of a Phœnician fleet with the Spartan in an attack upon the Athenian, was one of the promises with which Tissaphernes long deluded the Spartans at Miletus, 411 B.C.[1] The Phœnicians actually advanced as far as Aspendus in Pamphylia[2] with 147 sail, but were suddenly recalled to the defence of their own coast, threatened on the side of Egypt and Arabia[3]. The Egyptians having revolted from Persia and set Amyrtæus on the throne in the year 414, endeavoured to possess themselves of Phœnicia, the great source of the naval power of Persia; but their plan was frustrated by this return of the Phœnician fleet. We next find them mentioned (394 B.C.) as auxiliaries of Athens in the destruction of the naval superiority which Sparta had gained by the battle of Ægospotami[4]. Persia, which had aided Sparta in the Peloponnesian war, faithful to its policy of distracting Greece by siding

[1] Diod. 13, 38. He substitutes Pharnabazus for Tissaphernes and makes the number of the Phœnician fleet 300.

[2] Thuc. 8, 87. He appears to doubt if there were any sufficient reason for their being kept back, and does not hint at the Egyptian invasion. Some thought the summons to be a mere device of Tissaphernes to obtain a pretext for exacting money from the Phœnicians, on the ground of releasing them from the more distant expedition which he had announced. Alcibiades pretended that he had averted the attack of the Phœnician fleet (Thuc. 8, 108), and no doubt he had urged on the satrap the impolicy of aiding Sparta to annihilate Athens.

[3] Diod. 13, 46. The fact might be true, though Tissaphernes had other reasons for sending back the Phœnician fleet.

[4] Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, 2, 49, where the account of Diodorus has been followed. Corn. Nep. "Conon ad mare est missus, ut Cypriis et Phœnicibus naves longas imperaret." c. 4.

with the weaker party, and alarmed at the progress of Agesilaus in Asia Minor, raised by its emissaries a war in Greece, which occasioned the recall of the Spartan king. At the same time Pharnabazus collected a naval armament from Cyprus and Phœnicia[1] to attack the Spartan fleet at Cnidus. The Athenian forces were commanded by Conon, and in the battle which ensued, the Spartans were defeated at sea with the loss of fifty triremes and many of the crews, who after swimming ashore were made prisoners by the land-forces[2]. The victorious fleets pursued their way to Greece, and being left by Pharnabazus under the command of Conon, assisted in rebuilding the walls of Athens[3].

From this time it appears probable that more intimate and permanent relations were established between Phœnicia and Athens. Phœnicians settled there, and had their own places of worship and interment. The three Phœnician inscriptions which have been found at Athens, two of which are also in Greek, have been pronounced to be a little subsequent to Ol. 100[4], 380 B.C. Among the lost orations of Dinarchus, enumerated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, there was one, occasioned by a suit between the people of Phalerus and the Phœnicians about the priesthood of Neptune—a deity to whose worship, conjointly with that of the Cabiri, the ancient city of Berytus was devoted[5], and to whom the Carthaginians offered sacrifices[6] and erected altars[7]. The friendly relations sub-

[1] Diod. 14, 83.
[2] Xen. Hell. 4, 3.
[3] Corn. Nep. u. s.
[4] Gesen. Mon. Pun. 1, 111.
[5] Sanchoniatho, p. 38, ed. Orell.
[6] Diod. Sic. 11, 21. 13, 86.
[7] Scylax, p. 247, ed. Klausen. The sculpture on the altar was said to be the work of Dædalus, *i. e.* of a Phœnician artist. The altar had perhaps been erected by Hanno. Münter, Rel. der Carthag. 97.

sisting at this time between Athens and Sidon are indicated by a decree, passed probably a few years later by the Senate of Athens[1], in which the relation of *proxenia* is established between Strato the king of Sidon and the Athenian people, and the Sidonians settling in Athens are exempted from the tax usually paid by alien settlers, from the obligation to furnish a choregus, and from contributions of every kind.

The cities of Phœnicia were involved in the consequences of the war which arose (392 B.C.) between the Persians and Evagoras of Cyprus. This prince had overthrown the dominion which the Cypriot Phœnicians, by expelling the descendents of Teucer, had established for themselves in Salamis, and had put to death the reigning despot, Abdemon the Tyrian, the friend of Persia[2]. His power was increased by the influx of Greeks from Athens and the islands, during that period of Spartan tyranny which succeeded the battle of Ægospotami; he repaired the fortifications of Salamis, built triremes, and restored confidence by re-establishing the authority of the law[3]. But the increase of his power, which according to Isocrates equalled that of any Grecian state, soon excited the

[1] Böckh, Corp. Inscr. 1, 126, who supposes the date of the decree to be somewhere between Ol. 101 and 103. Strato is supposed to be the prince mentioned Athen. 12, 41. Æl. Var. Hist. 7, 2.

[2] Diod. 14, 98.

[3] Isocrates, Evag. (2, 93, ed. Battie), gives a very unfavourable picture of the state of Salamis under Abdemon and his predecessors. *Παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐκβαρβαρωμένην, καὶ διὰ τῶν Φοινίκων ἀρχὴν οὔτε τοὺς Ἑλλήνας προσδεχομένην, οὔτε τέχνας ἐπισταμένην, οὔτ' ἐμπορίῳ χρωμένην, οὔτε λίμενα κεκτημένην, ταῦτα πάντα διώρθωσε.* The pursuits and policy most characteristic of Phœnicia, the ready admission of strangers, art, commerce, navigation, had all been sacrificed to the desire of maintaining an usurped power, and excluding the Greeks, by whom it would have been endangered.

jealousy of Persia; she justly dreaded the formation of an independent naval kingdom in an island which had been so amply furnished by nature, and adapted by position for the seat of a naval empire[1]. The Great King regarded Evagoras as an enemy even more formidable than Cyrus, whose expedition he had recently defeated[2]. The actual forces of Evagoras appear very inadequate to a contest with Persia; but he was supported by Athens, which sent a fleet to his aid under Chabrias; by Acoris, king of Egypt, which was in revolt against Persia, and by some of the towns in Cilicia. Being forced into hostilities, he did not confine himself to the defence of his own kingdom, but reduced nearly the whole island, sent a fleet against Phœnicia, and took Tyre, according to Isocrates, by assault[3]. If this were correct, it could only be the city on the mainland, since the island was too strongly fortified to be an easy capture. Many states secretly favoured his cause, through dislike of the Persian power; the prince of Caria, Hecatomnus, while in appearance faithful to Persia, secretly supplied him with money. Even the king of the Arabians furnished him with troops, and therefore we may suspect that the surrender of Tyre had been a voluntary defection. The peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.) deprived Evagoras, who was excepted from it, of the aid of Athens; Egypt assisted him feebly, and Persia was enabled to concentrate her forces for his subjugation; he was defeated in a great naval battle in the year 386 B.C., and after a struggle of six years he was compelled to surrender his independent power and become tributary to Persia[4]

[1] See p. 75 of this volume.

[2] Isocr. p. 99.

[3] *Φοινίκην ἐπόρθησε, Τύρον δὲ κατὰ κράτος εἶλε.* Isocr. 2, p. 101. Paneg. 1, p. 207. Tyre furnished him with twenty triremes. Diod. 15, 2, who says *Ἐκυρίευε κατὰ Φοινίκην Τύρου καί τινων ἑτέρων πόλεων.*

[4] Diod. 15, 9. He says the war

In the incidental mention of Phœnician affairs which we thus gain from the Greek historians, Tyre appears as the predominant state, in naval strength, while Sidon was the most flourishing and wealthy, and, as being one of the residences of the kings of Persia, was more difficult to detach from its allegiance[1].

We next find Phœnicia engaged in the extensive revolt of the Persian provinces, which was encouraged by the successful resistance of the Egyptians under Nectanebus, the hostility of Sparta, and the disaffection of the Asiatic satraps[2]. Nearly the whole maritime region from Egypt to Lycia, including Phœnicia and Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia and Pisidia, was in league to throw off the yoke of the Great King; Sparta aided them by a land force, sent to Egypt under Agesilaus, and the Athenian Chabrias commanded the fleet. Tachos, the king of Egypt, successor of Nectanebus I., advanced with an army into Palestine and began to reduce the strong places which were held by the Persians; but in the meantime disaffection had arisen among his subjects and the army, and he was compelled to abandon his kingdom and take refuge in Persia. Artaxerxes Mnemon died soon after, in the year 359 B.C. During the first part of the reign of his successor Ochus, Egypt, being successful in maintaining its independence against his feeble attempts for its reconquest, appears to have acquiesced in his possession of Phœnicia; but now it invited Egypt to take part in a revolt. The satrap and generals of Ochus, who resided in the territory of Sidon, had treated its inhabitants with great insolence, and in a

lasted ten years, including the preparations.

[1] Diod. 16, 41. Σιδῶνος εὐδαιμονίᾳ διαφερούσης καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν διὰ τὰς ἐμπορίας μεγάλους περιπεποιημένων πλούτους.

[2] Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, 2, 504. Diod. 16, 41–45.

general assembly of the Phœnician cities held at Tripolis (352 B.C.), it was determined to renounce their submission to Persia. They began by destroying the royal residence and the stores of forage collected for the use of the cavalry, and put to death the Persians from whom they had received injuries. Having thus provoked to the utmost the hostility of Ochus, they raised a numerous fleet of triremes, hired foreign mercenaries, prepared arms and stores, and sent a message to Nectanebus inviting him to join them.

Even the sluggish nature of Ochus was roused by these insults to his authority, and he prepared to take a terrible vengeance upon Phœnicia, and especially on Sidon. He assembled a large force of infantry and cavalry at Babylon, with which (351 B.C.) he began his march towards the coast, commanding Belesys the satrap of Syria, and Mazæus the satrap of Cilicia, to unite their forces and invade Phœnicia. Four thousand Grecian mercenaries, however, whom Tennes the king of Sidon had received from Egypt, commanded by Mentor of Rhodes, sufficed along with the native troops to drive back both the satraps. Meanwhile Cyprus had followed the example of Phœnicia. The nine petty kings who governed an equal number of towns, in subordination to Persia, asserted their own independence. Evagoras, whom we have formerly known as tyrant of Salamis, had been assassinated soon after the termination of his war with Persia, but had left two sons, Pnytagoras and Evagoras. Pnytagoras, the elder, had been expelled by his younger brother; but the Persians had reinstated him, and given Evagoras a command in Asia. Idrieus, the prince of Caria, who had remained faithful to Persia

amidst the general defection of the maritime states of Asia, sent a fleet of forty triremes to attack Salamis; Evagoras and the Athenian Phocion brought eight thousand mercenary foot-soldiers, and began the siege on the land side. The island was flourishing, as the result of several years of peace, and the hope of plunder drew adventurers from the opposite coasts of Syria and Cilicia, by whom the army of Evagoras and Phocion was soon swollen to double its former amount, so that dismay and apprehension prevailed not only in Salamis, but among the rulers of the minor states.

While Ochus was on his march from Babylon, Tennes the king of Sidon, alarmed at the magnitude of the forces which were about to be brought against him, sent Thessalion, a confidential minister, to treat with the Persian king for the betrayal of the city when his army should appear before it, promising besides, his advice in the conduct of the expedition against Egypt, the localities of which he knew accurately. Ochus joyfully accepted the offer; but his pride was so much offended when Thessalion demanded, on behalf of Tennes, the pledge of the royal right hand, that he ordered him forthwith to be beheaded. An exclamation of Thessalion, that the king might do as he pleased, but that without the aid of Tennes his projects would fail, recalled him to a better mind, and he gave the pledge of his right hand,—the most sacred in the estimation of the Persians,—and proceeded on his march through Syria. The Sidonians had availed themselves of the king's delay to make ample preparations for defence. They had collected a fleet of more than a hundred quinqueremes and triremes, fortified themselves with a wall and

triple fosse, and carefully drilled their youth in martial exercises. But all was frustrated by the treachery of Tennes, and Mentor, the commander of the Egyptian mercenaries. Under the pretext of going to attend a general council of the Phœnician states, Tennes led one hundred of the most illustrious citizens of Sidon to the Persian camp, and betrayed them into the hands of Ochus, by whom they were put to death, as the alleged authors of the revolt. As he advanced towards the city, he was met by five hundred of the Sidonians with the branches of supplication in their hands. Before he gave an answer to their petition, he asked Tennes whether he was confident that he could place the city in his hands. Tennes replied that he could; and Ochus, who desired to have an opportunity of signal vengeance upon Sidon, which might strike terror into the other revolted states, not only refused the capitulation for which they supplicated, but caused them all to be put to death. It remained for the consummation of the treachery of Tennes to persuade the Egyptian mercenaries to admit the Persian troops within the walls. The Sidonians had previously burnt their own fleet, that none might withdraw from the common danger; and now reduced to despair, they shut up themselves, their children and their wives in their houses, and set them on fire. Including slaves, forty thousand persons are said thus to have perished; and so large was the treasure buried in the ashes of the conflagration, that the king sold for many talents the right of extracting it. This tale of unexampled perfidy and cruelty terminated in a signal display of retributive justice. Tennes, having served the purposes of Ochus, was either put to death, or, knowing

that this fate was designed for him, attempted suicide; but, wavering in his purpose, was killed by his wife, who immediately slew herself upon his body[1]. Retribution awaited Persia also. Sidon lost by this event her chief naval forces[2], but became again a flourishing city under kings of its own. The cruelty of Persia, however, was never forgotten; and when Alexander invaded Phœnicia, Sidon opened her gates to him. Cyprus was reduced soon after. Salamis was the last place which held out. Ochus, who had at first favoured the claim of Evagoras, listened to the accusations of his enemies, and adopted the cause of Pnytagoras[3]. Evagoras afterwards cleared himself from their charges, and received a government in Asia from the Persian king; but being guilty of malversation in his office, he escaped to Cyprus, where he was seized and put to death. Pnytagoras submitted to the Persians, and was confirmed in his sovereignty, and he held it to the time of Alexander, in whose service he engaged, commanding the fleet which besieged Tyre.

[1] Jerome adv. Jovinianum, Lib. 1. vol. 2. p. 69. ed. Par. (Wessel. ad Diod. 16, 45) relates this anecdote of a king of Tyre called Strato; but there can be little doubt that he refers to Tennes. Perizon. ad Ælian. V. H. 7, 2. Strato was the name of the king of Sidon at the time of Alexander's invasion; hence probably the mistake.

[2] Mela, 1, 12. "Adhuc opulenta Sidon; antequam a Persis caperetur maritimarum urbium maxima."

[3] He is called by Theopompus (Phot. c. 176) Pnytagoras; by Diodorus (16, 46) Protagoras.

CHAPTER IV.

SIEGE OF TYRE BY ALEXANDER.

The conquest of Egypt, which soon followed that of Phœnicia, was the last rally of the Persian power, before its final struggle and overthrow. In the interval between the conquest of Phœnicia and the invasion of Asia by Alexander, Athens, the chief maritime state of Greece, was occupied with the protection of her own independence against the growing power of Macedonia, and Persia was left quietly to enjoy the command which she had acquired over the fleets of Cyprus, Phœnicia[1], and Egypt. Her interference in Grecian politics was confined to sending a force to aid the Perinthians in their resistance to Philip[2], and supporting, with her gold, that party in Athens, which, by opposing Macedonia, delayed the attack that had been long anticipated, when Greece should be united under a single head[3]. Ochus, on his return from Egypt, gave himself up to the congenial vices of the Persian court, tyranny and luxury; but he had two able ministers, Mentor the Rhodian, who governed his western provinces, and Bagoas, the eunuch, the

[1] In a commercial treaty between Rome and Carthage, B.C. 348 (Polyb. 3, 24), the Tyrians are mentioned, along with Utica, as allies of Carthage, and included in its benefits. They seem therefore to have been regarded as an independent power, notwithstanding their subjection to Persia, which would hardly be known in the western Mediterranean, to which the treaties between Rome and Carthage referred.

[2] Diod. 16, 75. Arrian, 2, 14.

[3] See the letter of Isocrates to Philip, written after the conclusion of the peace between Athens and Macedonia, 346 B.C.

eastern. He had become odious to his subjects, and was killed by Bagoas (338 B.C.). Arses his youngest son, whom Bagoas raised to the throne, in the hope of ruling by his means, soon showed the purpose of avenging his father's murder, and shared his fate in the third year of his reign. His children having been put to death, and the direct royal line thus become extinct, Darius, a great-nephew of Artaxerxes Mnemon, was placed on the throne, nearly at the same time (336 B.C.) that Alexander became king of Macedonia and master of Greece, whose forces he immediately prepared to employ for the invasion of Asia.

The battle of the Granicus (334 B.C.) had given to Alexander the possession of Asia Minor; by that of Issus (333 B.C.) Darius was driven beyond the Euphrates, and the whole coast of Phœnicia was left open to the Macedonians. Alexander appointed Menon to the satrapy of Cœlesyria, and himself marched southward along the coast. On his way he was met by Strato, the son of Gerostratus, the king of Aradus and the adjacent territory, who offered him a golden crown, and surrendered to him the island of Aradus, with Marathus and some other towns on the opposite coast. Gerostratus himself, with Enylus of Byblus and the other kings of the Phœnicians and Cyprians, was at this time at Chios, with Pharnabazus and Autophradates who commanded the Persian fleet. Rejecting the offer of alliance made him by Darius, Alexander continued his march, received the submission of Byblus, and occupied Sidon at the invitation of the inhabitants, who remembered the cruelties of Ochus. Strato their king, who had been placed in the sovereignty by the Persians, and was upheld by them,

favoured the cause of Darius, and was probably at this time serving in the Persian fleet, with the contingent of Sidon. He was deposed by Alexander; and Hephæstion, to whom the choice of a successor was left, called to the throne Abdalonymus, a distant branch of the royal family, at that time following the occupation of a gardener in the suburbs[1].

Azemilcus, the king of Tyre, was with Autophradates; but ambassadors delegated by the community, and consisting of his son and the most illustrious men of the state, met Alexander on his way, professing, according to Arrian, that they were ready to submit to his command[2]. They probably hoped that, satisfied with this nominal submission, he would pass onward to Egypt, and that they should not be compromised with the Persians, if Darius regained the ascendency. There were obvious reasons, however, why Alexander should not be content with anything less than complete possession of Tyre[3]. It would have been dangerous for him to attack Egypt, while the Persians had the command of the sea; still more dangerous to follow Darius into Upper Asia, leaving behind him Tyre doubtful, and Egypt and Cyprus hostile. While he marched against Babylon, the Persian fleet would reconquer the sea-coast and return to Greece, where Lacedæmon was openly hostile, and Athens retained rather by fear than affection. Tyre once secured, the naval power of Phœnicia, the strongest arm of Persia, would be at his command; for the mariners and the sailors would quit her service as soon as they found

[1] Q. Curtius, 4, 4. Diodorus, 17, 47, transfers this story to Tyre, after its capture by Alexander, calling the new king Ballonymus.

[2] Ὡς ἐγνωκότων Τυρίων πράσσειν ὅ,τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλῃ Ἀλέξανδρος. Arrian, 2, 15.

[3] Arrian, 2, 17.

that their country was occupied by the Greeks. Cyprus would follow the example of Phœnicia; the expedition against Egypt might be easily effected, and the Persians being cut off from the sea, the march against Babylon might be undertaken with safety, and the advantage of an augmented fame. As a cover to his design he requested permission to enter the island, and sacrifice to Hercules the tutelary god of Tyre, and the progenitor of the Macedonian kings[1]. The Tyrians were not imposed upon, and returned for answer that there was a temple of Hercules in Palæ-Tyrus on the mainland, in which he was at liberty to sacrifice. He prepared therefore to possess himself of the island by force, and the Tyrians to defend themselves[2].

Probably, had the question of surrender been decided by the wishes of the upper classes, Tyre would have passed quietly into the hands of Alexander. Those who are in possession of honour and wealth are not disposed to put them to hazard for the sake of national independence; they are rather eager to gain merit by submission and co-operation. But in the minds of the common people there arises in such a crisis a passionate, unreasoning sentiment of patriotism, which prepares them to dare and endure everything for the sake of their country. The stubborn resistance of the Canaanites to the children of Israel, the self-devotion of the Sidonians, the desperate struggle of the Carthaginians when their city had been doomed to destruction by the Romans, the horrors of the last

[1] Arrian, 2. 15, 16. See before, p. 345. Curtius, 4, 7.

[2] Curtius (4, 8) says the Tyrians put to death Alexander's heralds. Arrian says nothing of such an outrage on the law of nations.

siege of Jerusalem, prove what fierce determination characterized the whole race to which the Phœnicians belonged. Perhaps a tradition still lived among the Tyrians, that the kings of Assyria and Babylon, in the days of their highest power, had been foiled in the attempt to possess themselves of their island city. Nor was success altogether hopeless, according to the calculation of probabilities. It might reasonably be expected that, instead of Darius wasting his time in fruitless offers[1], and not beginning to make preparations till Alexander had taken Tyre, a Persian force would ere long make its appearance in Syria, to interrupt the siege. The obstinate defence made by the Persian commander of Gaza shows what might have been the result had Persia been able to throw succours into Tyre. The boldness of the operation by which Alexander joined the island to the continent had no parallel in the practice of war, and would have failed, notwithstanding his most strenuous exertions, had not the naval forces of Aradus and Sidon abandoned the cause of Phœnicia. Carthage, which was bound by ties of origin to Tyre, and had a common interest with her in preventing the naval preponderance of Greece in the Mediterranean, might be expected to give aid, and, even in the event of defeat, afforded an asylum[2]. At the moment when Alexander was about to begin the siege, a Carthaginian embassy arrived, bringing gifts to Hercules, and encouraged the Tyrians to resist. No blockade could be formidable to a city which commanded the sea, and possessed ample wealth for the purchase of supplies. Had the Persian government displayed ordi-

[1] Arrian, 2, 25. [2] See Diod. 17, 40.

nary vigour, the delay of a seven months' siege might have changed the history of the Eastern world.

When Alexander resolved on the siege of Tyre, he had scarcely any fleet; while the Tyrians had an ample navy[1], could reckon on aid from the fleets of Carthage, and the Persians were still masters of the the sea. The walls which surrounded the island rose to the height of 150 feet on the side opposite to the mainland, and were surmounted by battlements and towers. It was impossible to scale them, and the stones of which they were built were so large, and so firmly compacted together, that no breach could be made in them by machines worked from below, and from the unsteady surface of a ship. His only chance of success was the construction of a mole, by which his warlike engines might be planted on firm ground, and brought to the level of the walls. The description which has been already given of the strait between the island and the continent will show the difficulty of such a work[2]. The interval was not much less than half a mile, and the sea rushed through the narrow channel with a strong current, often increased by the prevalent south-west wind[3]. The materials indeed for its construction were at hand, and labourers were abundant, the population of all the neighbouring towns having been pressed into the service. Old Tyre, which stretched for several miles along the shore, being in great part in ruins, or deserted by its inhabitants, furnished abundance of stone, and wood was easily procured from Lebanon[4]. The Tyrians landed troops to intercept the parties who were bring-

[1] Arrian, 2, 18. Q. Curt. 4, 8. "Ea tempestate magna ex parte Punicis classibus maria obsidebantur."

[2] See p. 343–351.

[3] Q. Curtius, 4, 8.

[4] Q. Curtius, 4, 10. Diod. 17, 40.

ing stone, and it was probably at their instigation that the Arabs of the Syrian Desert attacked the Macedonian woodcutters on Anti-Libanus[1]. The construction of the mole, however, which was 200 feet in breadth, proceeded successfully in the shallow water near the shore. Piles were driven with ease into the soft bottom, and the mud served as a cement to bind the stones together; but as they drew nearer to the island the water became deeper; the sea, rolling impetuously through the channel, worked its way amidst the interstices of the mole, and loosened the structure; and when raised by a storm from the north-west, its waves broke over the summit. As they approached the city wall, the workmen became exposed to the missiles which the Tyrians showered on them from above, or from the vessels which they filled with archers and slingers, and which the Macedonians, from the want of a fleet, could not prevent them from bringing close up to the work[2].

To relieve themselves from these attacks, they constructed two lofty wooden towers on the extremity of the mole, from which they could assail the defenders of the wall and the soldiers in the boats, and covered them with hides as a protection against the fiery projectiles which would be hurled upon them. To countervail this contrivance, the Tyrians, who, from their naval occupations, were skilled in the construction of machines, and had abundance of engineers capable of working them, fitted up one of their large horse-transports as a fire-ship[3]. They stowed the hold with dry brushwood and other combustible materials, and

[1] Q. Curt. 4, 11.
[2] Arrian, 2, 18.
[3] Arrian, 2, 19. Diod. 17, 41.

on the prow erected two masts, each with a projecting arm, from which a caldron was suspended, filled with everything that could kindle and nourish flame. The prow was elevated so as to reach the machines planted on the dam, by the depression of the stern, which was loaded for this purpose with stones and sand; and the fore part of the vessel being covered in was heaped with torches, pitch and sulphur, and every variety of inflammable matter. Watching the opportunity of the wind, they towed the ship to the mole, and set fire to it, the crew escaping by swimming. The towers were soon in a blaze; and those who were stationed in them were either burnt, or threw themselves into the water, and were made prisoners by the Tyrians, who bruised their hands with stones and stakes, till they were unable to support themselves by swimming[1]. The caldrons, swung round from the masts, scattered their contents over the mole; the Tyrian triremes, anchoring just beyond the reach of the conflagration, kept off by their flights of arrows all who attempted to quench it; and the townsmen, manning their small boats, set fire to all the machines which the flames from the ship had not reached, and pulled up the stakes which formed the exterior face of the mole. The labour of the Macedonian army for many weeks was lost; a heavy sea accompanied the gale of wind which had favoured the conflagration, and, penetrating into the loosened work, carried the whole into deep water[2].

Alexander perceived that his efforts would be vain

[1] Curtius, 4, 12.

[2] Curtius, 4, 12, represents the combustion of the machines and destruction of the mole as taking place while Alexander was absent. "Tantæ molis vix ulla vestigia invenit Arabia rediens Alexander."

as long as the Tyrians remained masters of the sea, and gave orders for the construction of new machines, and of a new mole of greater breadth, which, by inclining towards the south-west, instead of crossing the strait in a direct line, was less exposed to the action of the wind and current[1]. While the necessary preparations were making, he himself went to Sidon to collect a fleet. The Sidonian triremes were with Autophradates, along with the ships of Aradus and Byblus; but their commanders, Gerostratus and Enylus[2], who had heard of the surrender of their respective cities, but not of the defeat of Alexander before Tyre, deserted the Persian cause, and at this critical time brought their vessels into the harbour of Sidon[3]. A fleet of eighty Phœnician ships was thus collected, which were joined by vessels from Rhodes, Soli, Mallus and Lycia, and a penteconter from Macedonia. Not long after, the kings of Cyprus, having heard of the defeat of Darius at Issus, and the occupation of Phœnicia by Alexander, anchored in the same harbour with 120 ships. The fate of Tyre was already decided. While these vessels were being fitted up for the peculiar service to which they were destined, Alexander with his cavalry and light troops made a rapid expedition of eleven days into Cœlesyria, where he repelled the Arabs of the Desert, who had interrupted his soldiers in cutting down wood on Anti-Libanus, and made terms with the inhabitants of the

[1] Curtius, 4, 13. "Rex novi operis molem orsus in adversum ventum non latere sed recta fronte direxit: ea cetera opera, velut sub ipsa latentia tuebatur." Arrian (2, 19) only mentions the greater width of the new mole, which allowed more machines to be planted on it.

[2] His name occurs, written עניאל, on the coins of Byblus. Gesen. Tab. 36. vii.

[3] Arrian, 2, 20.

country. Returning to Sidon, he found that Cleander had arrived from the Peloponnesus with 4000 Greek mercenaries, and having manned his ships with his bravest soldiers, in order to avoid those naval manœuvres in which the Tyrians were more skilful, and to fight hand to hand from the decks, he set sail for Tyre in order of battle, leading in person the right division of the fleet, and anchored in the northern roadstead opposite to the Sidonian harbour. In his absence the construction of the new mole had been proceeding rapidly, though not without obstacles. The Macedonians had thrown whole trees with their branches into the sea, and covered them with a layer of stones, on which other trees were again laid[1]. The Tyrian divers approaching the mole unseen, laid hold of the projecting branches, and, dragging them out, brought down with them large portions of the superincumbent mass. In spite of these exertions, the mole was nearly completed.

Notwithstanding the proximity of Sidon, the Tyrians had not yet heard of the accession of the Cyprian and Phœnician fleets, and were dismayed at the sight of the large force under Alexander's command. They renounced the intention of giving him battle, began to transport their children, wives and aged men to Carthage[2], and blocked up the mouths of their harbours with a line of triremes ranged side by side.

[1] Achilles Tatius (2, 14) describes the isthmus formed by Alexander's mole, as if it were not continuous, but had intervals, through which the sea flowed. Οὐκ ἐῤῥίζωται κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ὑποῤῥεῖ κάτωθεν· ὑπόκειται δὲ πορθμὸς κάτωθεν ἰσθμῷ.

[2] It was only partially accomplished before the Macedonians obtained the command of the sea. Τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν μέρος μὲν ἔφθασαν ὑπεκθέμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους. Diod. Sic. 17, 41.

As the Tyrian fleet did not come out against him, he sailed towards the city; and finding it impossible to force his way into the Sidonian harbour, he attacked and sunk the three outermost of the triremes, and then anchored under the lee of the mole, which had again advanced nearly to the walls of the city. The next day the Cyprian fleet stationed itself off the Sidonian harbour, the Phœnician off the Egyptian, near that part of the mole on which Alexander's own tent was pitched. The attack upon the walls was resumed, and every device for assault or defence known in ancient warfare was put in force on both sides. Alexander had prepared a number of new machines, and brought engineers from Cyprus as well as Phœnicia[1] to work them. Some were planted on the mole, some on the horse-transports, and some on the heavier class of triremes. When these attempted to approach the walls in order to attack them with the battering-ram, they found that the Tyrians had thrown large blocks of stone into the sea, by which their vessels were kept at a distance. The Macedonians attempted to weigh these up, but the unsteadiness of their ships gave them no sufficient purchase, and they endeavoured by anchoring them to prevent their rolling. The Tyrians on this, manning their small vessels, and covering them to ward off missiles, came under their prows and sterns, and cut the cables by which they were moored. Alexander then fitted up some of his largest ships in a similar way, and placed them across before the anchors, so as to prevent the approach of the Tyrians; but they sent divers, and cut the cables as before. The Macedonians then moored

[1] Arrian, 2, 21.

their ships with chains, and, dragging up the stones, carried them away, and sunk them in deep water, so that they had unobstructed access to the foot of the walls.

Defeated in this way, the Tyrians resolved to attack the Cyprian fleet, and took their measures for the purpose with the utmost secresy[1]. They spread sails before the mouth of the harbour, so that their operations could not be overlooked; they chose for their attack the hour of noon, when the sailors were at their meal, or engaged in their other avocations, and when Alexander had retired to his tent, pitched on that side of the mole which was most remote from the Sidonian harbour. To avoid alarm they came out of port in single file, rowing gently and in silence, till they were near the enemy, when they plied their oars vigorously, and the *celeustæ* set up the customary shout of signal and exhortation. Alexander had remained that day a shorter time than usual in his tent, and speedily returned to the place where the fleet was stationed[2]. The surprise had been complete; the Tyrians had found the Cyprian ships deserted, or hastily manned in the midst of confusion and alarm; they had already sunk the ships of Pnytagoras, Androcles and Pasicrates, and were fast disabling the others and driving them on shore. His first object was to prevent any more of the Tyrian fleet from coming out of the harbour, for which purpose he directed his own ships, as fast as they could be got ready, to station themselves before its mouth, thus hindering both the egress of reinforcements, and the return of the others if they should be unsuccessful. He placed

[1] Arrian, 2, 21, 12.

[2] Arrian, 2, 22.

himself on board one of those which lay on the southern side of the mole, and sailed round the island to come upon the Tyrian fleet unawares from the north. This movement, though unseen by those who were fighting off the harbour, was perceived by the Tyrians on the walls, who called aloud to them to return, but were unheard amidst the uproar of the battle. Repeated signals were made, but they did not perceive the approach of Alexander's fleet till they were close upon them. They then turned and fled towards the harbour; a few only were able to enter, the rest were intercepted, and either disabled or taken. The soldiers and crews for the most part saved themselves by swimming to the friendly shore which was near at hand.

This victory allowed the Macedonians to carry on their unobstructed operations against the wall. But its height and solidity opposite to the mole baffled their efforts to make a breach in it[1], and they were equally unsuccessful in an attack made at midnight by the floating batteries on the part near the Sidonian harbour. A storm had suddenly arisen; the quadriremes which had been fastened together and covered with planks to afford footing to the soldiers, were torn asunder and dashed against each other, the men who were stationed on them being precipitated into the water[2]. In the darkness and noise, signals could not be seen, nor the word of command heard. The soldiers overpowered the pilots, and compelled them to seek the shore, which they reached in confusion and with much damage. The Tyrians began a second wall within the first, that they might still have a de-

[1] Arrian, 2, 22, 8. [2] Q. Curt. 4, 14.

fence, in the event of a breach being effected[1]; but their fears were indicated by the awakening of superstition. It was a prevalent belief that the gods abandoned a city which was about to fall into the hands of an enemy. A citizen reported that he had seen in a dream Apollo preparing to desert Tyre. He was not one of their ancient divinities; but the Carthaginians had brought a statue of him from Syracuse[2], and had placed it at Tyre, where it had attracted the veneration of the people. To prevent the desertion of the god, they bound his statue by a golden chain to the altar of their native deity Hercules. There were some who would have propitiated Saturn, as the Greeks and Latins called Moloch, by the sacrifice of a child of noble birth, according to the immemorial custom of the Phœnicians in times of public distress and alarm; but the wiser counsel of the elder men prevailed[3]. It was probably, however, at this time that the Tyrians, having taken some Macedonians who were on a voyage from Sidon, put them to death upon the walls, in view of their countrymen, and cast their bodies into the sea[4]. If any reliance had been placed on aid from Carthage, it was dissipated by the arrival of an embassy, which informed them that none could be expected. The republic had been exhausted by its wars in Sicily, and had not long before concluded an humiliating peace with Timoleon[5]. They could only

[1] Diod. 17, 43.

[2] Curt. 4, 15. Diod. 13, 108, says, from Gela, adding that during the siege of Tyre it was treated contumeliously by the Tyrians, as favouring the cause of Alexander.

[3] Q. Curt. u. s. Porphyr. de Abstin. 2, 56. See p. 315.

[4] Arrian, 2, 24.

[5] Q. Curtius has evidently confounded this state of things with the distress of Carthage when invaded by Agathocles several years later. "Syracusani tum Africam urebant et haud procul Carthaginis muris locaverant castra."

promise the Tyrians an asylum for their wives and children, part of whom had been transported thither before the capture of the city.

The attack upon the walls was carried on with the greatest energy, and repelled by the use of all the arts of defensive warfare. To deaden the blows of the battering-ram, and the force of the stones hurled from the catapults, bags of leather filled with seaweed were suspended from the walls[1]. Tyre as a naval city abounded in ingenious mechanicians, who devised new engines for its defence. They erected on the walls circular machines, the interior of which was filled with several layers of yielding materials[2]. These were set in rapid motion, and the darts and other missiles which struck upon them were either blunted and turned aside by the force of their rotation; or, if they penetrated beyond the surface, were stopped by the soft substances within. The Macedonians raised towers upon the mole, which had now advanced to the island, equalling the wall in height, and by throwing bridges from them to the battlements, endeavoured to pass over into the city. The Tyrian mechanicians constructed long grappling-hooks, which they fastened to ropes, and, throwing them out to a distance, laid hold of the soldiers on the towers. If their bodies were caught, they were miserably mangled; if the hook fixed itself on their shields, they were compelled either to abandon them, and expose their undefended bodies; or if, from a feeling of military honour, they clung to them, they were dragged over the tower and

[1] Diod. 17, 45, with Wesseling's note.

[2] Diod. 17, 43. Τροχοὺς διειλημμένους πυκνοῖς διαφράγμασι. He speaks afterwards of τροχοὶ μαρμάρινοι, "wheels of stone," as employed for the same purpose.

precipitated to the ground[1]. Others of the assailants met with the same fate, having been entangled in nets, which rendered them unable to use their hands. Masses of red-hot metal were thrown from the machines, which among the dense crowd never fell ineffectual. A new mode of annoyance was devised against those who attempted to scale the walls. Sand intensely heated in shields of brass and iron was poured out upon them from above, and, penetrating between the armour and the skin, inflicted such intolerable pain that the soldiers threw off their coats of mail, and were pierced by the arrows and lances from the wall[2]. With long scythes fixed to the end of yard-arms, the Tyrians cut the ropes and thongs by which the battering-rams were worked. Towards the end of the day they sallied from the walls, armed with hatchets, and a deadly struggle took place on the bridges, which ended in the Macedonians being driven back. Diodorus and Curtius, who are supposed to follow Clitarchus the son of Dinon, a general of Alexander, represent him as meditating to abandon the siege and march on Egypt after this repulse[3]. This is not probable in itself, since his whole enterprise must have failed had he left Tyre behind him, not only unconquered, but triumphant.

The next day but one being calm, he ordered the ships on which the battering-rams were planted to be brought up against the wall, in which they soon made a breach. They then drew off, and two other ships were brought up on which the bridges and storming parties were placed. Admetus commanded one of

[1] Diod. u. s.
[2] Q. Curt. 4, 16.
[3] Diod. 17, 45. Q. Curt. 4, 17.

these, Koinus the other, Alexander keeping himself in reserve with a body of his guards, to attack wherever an opening should be made[1]. The triremes were directed at the same time to sail to both the harbours, that they might force an entrance, if the attention of the Tyrians should be absorbed by the main assault. The vessels which carried the machines for throwing darts, or whose decks were manned with archers, were commanded to sail round the island, and, approaching as near as possible to the walls, to distract the attention of the troops upon them by simultaneous attacks on many points. The conflict was short, when once the bridges were laid to the breach in the wall, and the Macedonian soldiers could advance over a firm and level surface. Admetus was the first who mounted; he was killed by a lance at the moment of his setting foot upon the wall, and died exhorting his soldiers to follow him. Alexander, with his guards, immediately entered and directed his march towards the palace, as the readiest access to the city. The Phœnician fleet had in the meantime burst the boom by which the Egyptian harbour was closed, and dismantled the Tyrian ships or driven them ashore. The Sidonian harbour had no such defence, and was easily entered by the Cyprian fleet. The city being thus occupied on all sides, the Tyrians assembled round the Agenorium, where they were attacked by Alexander and killed or put to flight. Many of the inhabitants shut themselves up in their houses and died by their own hands; others awaited their fate at the doors of their houses; many mounted to the roofs and

[1] Arrian, 2, 23.

thence flung down stones and whatever was at hand on the heads of the soldiery.

The Macedonians had been provoked by their obstinate resistance, and enraged at the recent murder of some of their comrades, as before mentioned, and little mercy was shown. The city was burnt; eight thousand were killed, and the rest, with the exception of those to whom the Sidonians gave shelter on board their vessels[1], sold for slaves to the number of 30,000, including the mercenary troops. Two thousand are said to have been crucified, as a reprisal for the death of the Macedonian prisoners. The king and the chief magistrates, with the Carthaginian deputation, had taken refuge in the temple of Hercules, and their lives were spared. Alexander offered sacrifice to him and led a naval and military procession in his honour, accompanied with gymnastic games and a torch race. He consecrated also to Hercules the battering-ram which had made the first breach in the walls, and a Tyrian ship, sacred to the service of the god, which he had captured. And thus, after a siege of seven months, Tyre was taken in July of the year 332 B.C.[2] Alexander replaced the population, which had been nearly exterminated, by colonists, of whom a considerable part were probably Carians, a nation closely allied to the Phœnicians[3].

[1] Curtius makes these amount to the incredible number of 15,000.

[2] It had begun in the middle of winter. See Fynes Clinton *sub anno*.

[3] See p. 89. This seems the most natural explanation of the Sibylline Oracle, iv. 88:—

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σκήπτροισι Μακεδόνες αὐχήσουσι
Κᾶρες δ' οἰκήσουσι Τύρον, Τύριοι ἀπολοῦνται.

Alexander had restored the government of Caria to Ada, who had

There remained now only one obstacle to the march of the Macedonian army to Egypt. A eunuch of Darius, named Bætis, had taken possession of Gaza, and relying on the strength of its position[1] and fortifications, had collected there provisions for a long siege, and raised a body of mercenary troops among the Idumæans, who had pushed their occupation from Arabia to the shores of the Mediterranean. It was in this age a large and flourishing town. Alexander at first encamped on the side on which it appeared most accessible, and ordered machines to be constructed for an assault; but the wheels of the machines sunk in the loose sandy soil by which Gaza is surrounded; and his engineers represented, that the height of the artificial hill on which the wall was built rendered it impregnable. Such an opinion was not likely to be adopted by the conqueror of Tyre; he was besides convinced that the capture of Gaza was essential to strike terror into the enemy, and preserve his reputation both with Darius and the Greeks. He determined therefore to raise a mound on the south side of the city, where its elevation was the least, high enough to overtop the wall, and upon this the engines were planted. While he was sacrificing as preliminary to the assault, a bird of prey which had caught up a stone in its talons dropped it on his head at the altar, and the royal soothsayer declared the omen to indicate that he should take the city, but be exposed on that day to some personal danger. At first therefore he kept beyond the range of missiles from the walls;

been superseded by Darius. Arr. 1, 23. The Persians had transported the Carians from the coast to the interior of Asia. Arr. 3, 8.

[1] Comp. p. 28 of this volume. Arrian, 2, 26.

but when a sally was made by the besieged to burn the engines, and the Macedonians were in danger of being driven from the mound, he either forgot the warning or purposely slighted it, and with his guards hastened to the spot where his troops were most hardly pressed. He succeeded in rallying them, but was himself wounded through his shield and coat-of-mail to the shoulder. Concealing the wound from his troops he continued in the field, till he fainted from loss of blood and was carried back to his tent. While the cure was slowly proceeding, the powerful machines employed in the siege of Tyre arrived by sea, and he gave orders for the construction of a mound which should encircle the whole town, of the height of two hundred and fifty feet, and the breadth of twelve hundred. How much of this vast work was executed does not appear; a part of it at least was raised to a sufficient height to command the wall which the besieged had repaired and raised, and a large portion was battered down; the yielding soil made the construction of mines easy, by which breaches were effected in various places. The inhabitants of Gaza resisted three assaults, though with great loss; in the fourth Alexander invested the city on every side with the soldiers of his phalanx, and the walls were scaled at many points where the mine or the battering-ram had laid them in ruins. The troops who first gained admittance burst open the gates and let in other detachments, so that the whole city was soon in their power. Still the inhabitants would not yield, and died fighting each where he had been stationed. Such a resistance authorized, according to the laws of warfare, the fate inflicted upon the women and children, who were sold

as slaves. But for the cruel treatment of Bætis, who had his ankles pierced, and was dragged alive behind a chariot round the walls[1], there was no such justification, and we already see in it the working of that proud and passionate temper, which led afterwards to the murders of Clitus and Callisthenes. The desolate city was repeopled by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, and became a strong post for the subsequent operations of the war[2].

The capture of Tyre had taken place in July, that of Gaza in October. The following winter (331 B.C.) was occupied by Alexander in Egypt, partly in laying the foundation of Alexandria, which was destined to become the great commercial rival of the Phœnician cities. Having visited the oracle of Ammon, he returned in the ensuing spring to Tyre, where his fleet was assembled, sacrificed again to Hercules, detached one hundred Phœnician and Cyprian ships to the Peloponnesus[3], and appointed Koiranos as collector of the tribute of Phœnicia.

After the battle of Arbela Alexander incorporated Syria, Phœnicia and Cilicia in one province, of which he gave the command to Menes[4]. He had broken the power of Tyre, but the commercial activity and maritime enterprise of Phœnicia remained unimpaired. The Phœnicians followed his army on the

[1] Q. Curtius, 4, 28.

[2] Diod. 17, 48. He speaks (19, 80) of "old Gaza" as the place where Demetrius took post before his engagement with Ptolemy, as if a new town had arisen near the site of that which Alexander had destroyed. Jerome says (de Loc. Sac. ad verb.) that only a few foundations of old Gaza remained, and that the town then so called was on a different site. See Wesseling's note. Strabo, 16, 759. Acts, 8, 26. The new town was much nearer the sea than the old, which, besides the siege by Alexander, had undergone various assaults.

[3] Arrian, 3, 6.

[4] Arrian, 3, 16.

march to India for the purposes of traffic, and loaded their beasts of burden on their return through the desert of Gedrosia with the gum of the myrrh and the nard, which it yielded in such abundance as to scent the whole region with the fragrance which was diffused, as the army in its march crushed them under foot[1]. The Phœnicians are mentioned first, along with the Cyprians, Carians and Egyptians, as composing the crews of the ships which were to sail down the Hydaspes to the Indian Ocean and thence to the mouth of the Euphrates and the Tigris[2]. After his return to Babylon, he commanded forty-seven Phœnician vessels of various rates to be constructed and then taken to pieces, conveyed overland to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, and put together again that they might descend the river to Babylon. They were manned from the Phœnicians engaged in the fishery of purple, and other seafaring people from the coast; and wherever in Syria or Palestine any one could be found possessed of nautical skill, if he were a freeman he was enlisted, if a slave purchased[3]. It was one of his vast projects to colonize by their means the islands in the Persian Gulf and its sea-coast,—a region not less fertile, says Arrian, than Phœnicia itself. His views of conquest extended to the whole Arabian peninsula, —a country whose marshes, he was told, yielded cassia, its trees, myrrh and frankincense, and its shrubs, cinnamon. This scheme, with others still more gigantic, was rendered abortive by his death at Babylon in 323 B.C.

[1] Arrian, 6, 22. Indic. 18. [2] Arrian, 6, 1. [3] Arrian, 7, 19.

CHAPTER V.

PHŒNICIA UNDER THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, AND IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

Ptolemy, to whom Egypt fell in the first division of Alexander's empire, almost immediately attempted the conquest of Syria and Palestine, agreeably to the policy which the sovereigns of Egypt have always adopted, when that country has been ruled by an enterprising king[1]. The forces which Antipater had left there were unequal to its defence, and Ptolemy easily made himself master of them, Jerusalem alone offering any resistance. He placed garrisons in the Phœnician cities, of which he kept possession till the year 315 B.C., when Antigonus, returning victorious from his war in Babylonia, easily reduced the other towns of Phœnicia, and took Joppa and Gaza by storm, but met with an obstinate resistance from Tyre[2]. Only eighteen years had elapsed since its desolation by Alexander, but the elastic power of commerce had repaired its strength, and though joined to the mainland by his mole, it was nearly as unassailable, by an enemy that did not command the sea, as while it remained an island. Antigonus blockaded it by land, and collecting a body of 8000 wood-cutters and sawyers, felled the cedars and cypresses of Lebanon, which were conveyed to the coast by 1000 yoke of

[1] See Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, vol. 2, 307. Diod. Sic. 18, 43.

[2] Diod. Sic. 19, 58.

oxen, and fashioned into a fleet at Tripolis, Byblus and Sidon. With the ships constructed in Phœnicia, Rhodes and Cilicia, he reduced Tyre at the end of fifteen months[1]. His son Demetrius, however, having advanced to Gaza, was totally defeated there (312 B.C.) by Ptolemy, who regained possession of the whole coast of Palestine and Phœnicia[2], but was compelled almost immediately to resign it to Antigonus and retire into Egypt, having destroyed the fortifications of Acco, Joppa, Samaria and Gaza, the first of which was the key of Syria, the second and third of Judæa, and the fourth of Egypt[3]. Having defeated the fleet of Ptolemy before Salamis in Cyprus, and reduced that island, which was a chief source of his naval power, Antigonus, in 307 B.C., with his son Demetrius, attempted without success the invasion of Egypt, and on their retreat, Ptolemy again possessed himself for a short time of the sea-coast of Phœnicia, with the exception of Sidon. False intelligence of a victory gained by Antigonus, caused him to make a truce with Sidon and withdraw into Egypt[4]. By the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.), in which Antigonus lost his life, his son Demetrius was dispossessed of the throne of Syria. He still however retained Cyprus, and having obtained possession of the harbours of Tyre and Sidon, reinforced his garrisons in those cities, when required by Seleucus to surrender them, as belonging to his kingdom of Syria, in the new division of territory consequent on the battle of Ipsus[5]. During the war between them, terminated by the surrender of Demetrius in 287 B.C., Ptolemy, who had

1 Diod. 19, 61.
2 Diod. 19, 86. Plut. Demetrius.
3 Diod. 19, 93.
4 Diod. 20, 113.
5 Plut. Demetr. c. 32.

conquered Cyprus, appears quietly to have reoccupied Phœnicia and retained it during his life.

The possession of Phœnicia had become still more important to the kings of Syria, since Seleucus (300 B.C.) made Antioch on the Orontes, with the harbour of Seleucia at its mouth, a principal seat of his power. Hence a series of struggles between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies during the latter part of the third century B.C. Ptolemy Euergetes, the third of the dynasty, had marched an army into Syria in the beginning of his reign (246 B.C.), and had placed an Egyptian garrison in Seleucia, of which his son Ptolemy Philopator still kept possession, when Antiochus the Great undertook (218 B.C.) the reconquest of Syria and Phœnicia. He took Seleucia by assault; Tyre and Acco were put into his hands by the treachery of Theodotus Ptolemy's lieutenant; and Nicolaus, who commanded the Egyptian army and fleet, was defeated and driven to take refuge in Sidon[1]. In the following year, however, Antiochus, having collected his forces at Raphia, between Gaza and the frontier of Egypt, was totally defeated by Ptolemy, and Phœnicia and Syria remained in the possession of the Egyptians till the death of Ptolemy and the succession of his infant son. In the year 203 B.C. Antiochus led an army into Syria and Palestine, and recovered possession of them. The Egyptians sent a force under Scopas which gained some temporary advantages, but they were defeated at Panium[2] and shut up in Sidon, where they were compelled to surrender[3]. Thus Phœnicia once more (198 B.C.) fell under the power of

[1] Polyb. 5, 40, 62. See p. 16.
[2] Polyb. 16, 18.
[3] Hieron. ad Dan. 11, 15.

Syria. Sidonian, Tyrian and Aradian ships were employed by Antiochus in his unsuccessful battle with the Romans and Rhodians at Myonesus[1]; but the peace which he made with Scipio after the battle of Magnesia, though it compelled him to surrender all his dominions westward of Mount Taurus, left him in possession of Syria and Phœnicia, which his sons Seleucus and Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) retained. Antiochus would probably have conquered Egypt had not the Romans, who perceived how contrary to their interests it was that two powerful kingdoms should be consolidated, compelled Antiochus to desist. The series of coins with Phœnician inscriptions begins with him.

It has been generally supposed that the motive of Alexander in founding the city of Egypt which bore his name, was to depress Tyre by raising up a commercial rival. Had this been his object, he would hardly have refounded Tyre and settled a new population there. The deficiency of good harbours on the coast of Egypt, and the importance of a naval station to a country which was to form a part of an empire including Greece as well as Asia, will sufficiently explain his purpose and justify his foresight. In fact, the commerce of Tyre suffered no immediate diminution; frugality and active industry speedily restored its prosperity[2]. What it may have lost by the rise of Alexandria, would certainly be more than compensated by the new channels of eastern traffic which his conquests opened, the security given to commercial intercourse by the establishment of a Greek monarchy in the ancient dominions of the Persian kings, and

[1] Livy, 37, 30: comp. 35, 48. Joseph. Ant. 12, 3.

[2] Justin, 18, 4. "Tyrii, Alexandri auspiciis conditi, parcimonia et labore quærendi cito convaluere."

the closer union which prevailed between all parts of the civilized world[1]. But it suffered a severe blow, when Ptolemy Philadelphus constructed the harbour of Berenice on the Red Sea, and established a road with stations and watering places between that place and Coptos, re-opening at the same time the canal which joined the Pelusiac branch of the Nile to the Gulf of Suez[2]. The traffic of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, which had hitherto passed from Elath and Eziongeber across the Desert to Rhinocolura[3], and thence been conveyed by Tyrian vessels to all parts of the Mediterranean, was now brought by the Nile or the canal to Alexandria. The opening of the safe and easy route by Cosseir and Coptos, which saved the dangerous navigation of the northern end of the Red Sea, gradually drew to Egypt the wealth that had previously flowed into Phœnicia. Aradus incidentally reaped benefit from the civil dissensions of the Seleucidæ. In the war between Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, the king of Aradus obtained the privilege of making his island an asylum to political fugitives, who were not to be delivered up, if they engaged not to depart without the leave of the king[4]. Many of these fugitives were men of high rank, who through gratitude, when they returned to their own country, procured for the Aradians the possession of a considerable extent of territory on the opposite coast. Tyre and Sidon appear to have enjoyed such a degree of independence as is implied in their striking *auto-*

[1] Strabo, 16, 757. *Τῶν τοιούτων συμφορῶν* (sieges and earthquakes) *κατέστη κρείττων, καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὑτὴν τῇ τε ναυτιλίᾳ, καθ' ἣν ἁπάντων ἀεὶ κρείττους εἰσὶ κοινῇ Φοίνικες, καὶ τοῖς πορφυρίοις.*

[2] Strabo, 16, 781.

[3] Strabo, 815. Plin. 6, 33.

[4] Strabo, 16, 754.

nomous coins. This began in Tyre in the year 126 B.C., and the privilege is supposed to have been obtained by the Tyrians having put Demetrius II. to death, when he had fled to their city after his defeat at Damascus[1].

The sufferings which the Syrians endured from the civil wars of the Seleucidæ, induced them in the year 83 B.C. to place themselves under the dominion of Tigranes, king of Armenia, who took possession of Syria[2]. This state of things lasted for fourteen years[3], when, in consequence of the victories of Lucullus, Syria and Phœnicia returned for a short time (B.C. 67) to the dominion of the Seleucidæ. Four years later Pompey reduced Syria into a Roman province, making Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and Turris Stratonis, free.

After the battle of Pharsalia, Cæcilius Bassus, a partisan of Pompey, had fled to Tyre, and had induced some of its inhabitants, and a part of the garrison, during Cæsar's war in Africa, to join him in an insurrection in favour of the Pompeian party. Sextus, who commanded in Syria for Cæsar, was put to death by his soldiers, and Bassus kept possession of Syria till after the death of the dictator. While Antony, to whom Syria had fallen in the arrangement of the triumvirate, was lingering in Egypt, Labienus and Pacorus invaded Phœnicia, and gained possession of the whole country with the exception of Tyre, which

[1] Eckhel, Doctr. Num. Vet. 3, 382. Justin, 39, 1. "Cum Tyrum, *religione templi se defensurus*, petisset, navi egrediens præfecti jussu interficitur." Tyre is called Ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος on its coins, and in a Greek inscription found at Puteoli. See Gruter, p. MCV.

[2] Justin, 40, 1. Appian, Syr. 48.

[3] Selene, the queen of Antiochus, persuaded the citizens of Ptolemais to shut their gates against Tigranes, who reduced the city, carried off Selene and put her to death at Seleucia in Mesopotamia. Joseph. Ant. 13, 16. Strabo, 16, 749.

Pacorus could not reduce without a fleet. In the struggle which preceded the battle of Philippi, Cassius, who commanded in Syria, divided the country into a number of small principalities, and sold the sovereignty of them to the highest bidder, and we read once more of a king of Tyre, Marion, who was dispossessed of his short-lived sovereignty by Antony. He gave the whole country between Egypt and the Eleutherus to Cleopatra, with a reservation, however, of the ancient freedom of Tyre and Sidon, notwithstanding her earnest desire that these should be included in the grant[1]. They appear to have shown their gratitude by adhering to the cause of Antony; for when Augustus came into the East (B.C. 20), he deprived both cities of their liberty[2].

The dominion of Rome, however, was exercised mildly[3]; and though Tyre and Sidon ceased to have any political importance, they retained their ancient fame for nautical science, for the manufacture of glass and the preparation of the purple dye. A school of philosophy arose here, whose doctrines, like those of Alexandria, combined Greek and oriental elements, and endeavoured to reconcile philosophy with theology[4]. Strabo mentions several contemporaries, emi-

[1] Joseph. Ant. 15, 4, 1.

[2] Dion Cass. 54, 7. Τοὺς Τυρίους τούς τε Σιδωνίους διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐδουλώσατο, ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ γενόμενος. Strabo appears to have been ignorant of this act of Augustus, and speaks of Tyre as still enjoying its former independence, though he wrote after the Emperor's eastern expedition. 16, 757, with Groskurd's note.

[3] "Nunc longa pace cuncta refovente, sub tutela Romanæ mansuetudinis requiescit." Q. Curt. 4, 20, probably in the age of Vespasian. The expression "longa pax" hardly suits the age of Augustus, to which Zumpt (Curt. Præf. xxiv.) refers it, nor the Latinity of the author that of Severus, to which it is assigned by Niebuhr. "Adhuc opulenta Sidon." Pomp. Mela, 1, 12, probably in the age of Claudius.

[4] A Christian writer, ridiculing

nent in their day, whom Tyre and Sidon had produced[1]. Philo, to whom we owe the translation of Sanchoniatho, was a native of Byblus; his pupil Hermippus, of Berytus. Porphyry, whose original name was Malchus, was of Tyrian parentage, though born at Batanæa, on the eastern side of the Jordan. Berytus became the seat of a school of law, which for three centuries furnished the eastern portion of the empire with pleaders and magistrates[2]. Marinus of Tyre, who lived in the early part of the second century after Christ, was the first author who substituted maps, mathematically constructed according to latitude and longitude, for the itinerary charts which had been in use before. In doing so, he would no doubt avail himself of the astronomical data which the observations of Hipparchus had furnished for the determination of the latitude. These however were very few, and observations of the moon's eclipses, at distant places as Arbela and Carthage, as the means of determining longitudes, fewer still[3]. The maps of Marinus, like those of Ptolemy, which were only an improvement upon them[4], must have been founded

the endless diversities of opinion among the Heathen philosophers, describes the Phœnicians as hostile to the Aristotelian philosophy :—

Οἱ τῆς Στοᾶς βάλλουσιν Ἀκαδημίαν,
Πυῤῥώνας οὗτοι, πάντας ὁ Σταγειρίτης·
Ἄλλοι δὲ τοῦτον, Φοινίκές τε καὶ Σύροι.

Cramer, Anecd. Gr. 4, 19, 6.

[1] Lib. 16, 757. Πάσης τῆς ἄλλης φιλοσοφίας εὐπορίαν πολὺ πλείστην λαβεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τούτων τῶν πόλεων.

[2] Gibbon, 3, 53.

[3] Μόνος ὁ Ἵππαρχος ἐπ' ὀλίγων πόλεων ἐξάρματα τοῦ βορείου πόλου παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν. Ptolemy, Geogr. 1, 4. He complains that the longitudes were still more inaccurately laid down, τῷ μηδέπω τὸ πρόχειρον κατειλῆφθαι τῆς μαθηματικωτέρας ἐπισκέψεως καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ πλείους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐν διαφόροις τόποις τετηρημένων σεληνιακῶν ἐκλείψεων, ὡς τὴν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις πέμπτης ὥρας φανεῖσαν, ἐν δὲ Καρχηδόνι δευτέρας, ἀναγραφῆς ἠξιῶσθαι.

[4] "Marinus of Tyre appears to

on records of voyages and travels, of which the measured or computed distances were translated into latitudes and longitudes. Nowhere could such records have abounded more than in Phœnicia, which for so many centuries had taken the lead of all other nations in navigation and commerce. Had the invention of maps, in the modern sense, been due to the geographers and mathematicians of Alexandria, it is not probable that Ptolemy, himself a native of Alexandria, would have based his own work entirely on that of Marinus of Tyre[1].

The rhetorician Paulus, a native of Tyre, having gone on an embassy to Rome on behalf of his native city, the Emperor Hadrian, who affected the patronage of literary men, granted to Tyre the title of Metropolis[2], thus deciding in its favour the ancient controversy with Sidon, to which of these cities this dignity

have lighted upon several histories in addition to those previously known, to have used them diligently, and to have rectified the errors both of his predecessors and himself, as is evident from the numerous corrections which he has made in his own map (πίναξ γεωγραφικός)." Ptol. 1, 6. He says (1, 18) that he should follow him throughout, except where he had detected an error.

[1] Heeren in his Dissertation *De fontibus Geographicorum Ptolemæi*, printed in Com. Soc. Reg. Gotting. vol. 6, and translated in the Appendix C. to the second volume of the English edition of his *Ideen*, doubts whether Marinus had derived his materials from Phœnician sources. His only plausible argument is that Marinus quotes Greeks and Romans, but not Phœnicians. Such a negative argument must be very unsafe in regard to an author whose works have perished. The instances referred to are all of recent travellers, on whose statements Marinus relied for the correction of former errors. That these happened to be Greeks or Romans can be no proof that the great body of his geographical knowledge was not derived from Phœnician sources, or that mathematical maps were not a Phœnician invention. The Phœnicians must long have possessed both geographical and hydrographical charts; but Marinus first projected a map according to latitude and longitude, an improvement nowhere so likely to be made as among a people who cultivated at once arithmetic, astronomy and navigation.

[2] Suidas, s. v. Παῦλος Τύριος. Tyre, however, had assumed the title at an earlier period. See Spanheim de Præst. Num. p. 588.

belonged[1]. It was the principal naval station on the coast of Syria, and a residence of the proconsul[2].

After the sale of the empire by the Roman soldiery to Didius Julianus and his subsequent assassination (A.D. 193), Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger were competitors for the purple. Niger, who commanded in the East, had his head-quarters at Antioch, and all Syria as far as the Euphrates and the coast of Phœnicia was under his power. Antioch and Berytus favoured the cause of Niger; Laodicea and Tyre, through jealousy of their neighbours, that of Severus. On the news of Niger's unsuccessful attempt to obstruct the march of Severus through the passes of Taurus, they destroyed the insignia of Niger, and proclaimed his rival. Niger sent against them his Mauritanian light troops, with orders to destroy the towns, and put the inhabitants to the sword. The commission was cruelly executed by the barbarians entrusted with it; they fell on the Laodiceans by surprise, and having inflicted great injury upon them, proceeded to Tyre, which they plundered and burnt after a great slaughter of the inhabitants[3]. It had no longer the protection which its insular situation would have afforded it against an invasion of cavalry; Alexander had joined it permanently to the land.

Niger had been defeated by Severus in the battle of Issus (A.D. 194), and was soon after slain at Antioch. In his subsequent settlement of the affairs of the East (A.D. 201), Severus recruited the population of Tyre

[1] Strabo, 16, p. 756.

[2] The title of ναυαρχίς is given to Tyre on the monument of Puteoli quoted before, the date of which is A.D. 174 (p. 438, note [1]), and the coins of Elagabalus (Rasche, Tom. 2, P. 2, p. 538), and ὑπατική on the coins of Trajan (Rasche, p. 550).

[3] Herodian, 3, 9, 10.

from the third legion, whose quarters had long been in Syria and Phœnicia, and rewarded the attachment of its inhabitants by giving it the title of Colony with the *Jus Italicum*[1]. Its prosperity appears to have received only a transient check from its conflagration. A writer of the age of Constantine describes it as equalling all the cities of the East in wealth and commercial activity; there was no port in which its merchants did not hold the first rank[2]. St. Jerome, about the end of the fourth century, in his Commentary on Ezekiel, speaks of it as the noblest and most beautiful city of Phœnicia, an emporium for the commerce of the world, and is at a loss how to reconcile its actual condition with the threat of its perpetual desolation[3].

Berytus, like Tyre, was a Roman colony; it had been founded by Augustus, and bore the name of Augustana. Besides its eminence as a school of law, it shared with Tyre the monopoly of that richest kind of purple which was reserved for imperial use. The superintendents of its dye-house are mentioned in a law of the year 372. A similar office at Tyre was

[1] Eckhel, D.N.V. 3, P. 1, p. 387. Ulpian, a Tyrian by descent if not by birth, says (Digest. Leg. de Cens. tit. 15), "splendidissimæ Coloniæ Tyro D. Severus imperator noster, ob egregiam in rempublicam imperiumque Romanum fidem, jus Italicum dedit." The principal character of the Jus Italicum was that it gave a municipal constitution to the colonies which possessed it.

[2] "Tyrus magnifice felix est; nulla enim civitas orientis est spissior in negotio, divites viros habens et potentes in omnibus portubus." Exp. tot. Mund. ap. Hudson, Geogr. Min. 3, p. 6.

[3] "Quod sequitur 'nec ædificaberis ultra' videtur facere quæstionem quomodo non sit ædificata, quam hodie cernimus Phœnices nobilissimam et pulcherrimam civitatem. Potest ergo quod dicitur sic accipi, quod nequaquam ultra sit regina populorum, sed vel Chaldæis, vel Macedonibus, vel Ptolemæis, et ad postremum Romanis servitura sit." Hieron. Comm. ad Ezek. 26, 7. "Usque hodie omnium propemodum gentium in illa exercentur commercia." 27, 2.

filled by Dorotheus, a learned presbyter of Antioch, in the reign of Diocletian[1]. Berytus suffered in the sixth century from one of those earthquakes which have always been the scourge of Syria and Palestine, and which visited the Roman empire with unusual severity in the reign of Justinian[2]. In consequence of the destruction which thus fell upon it, the school of law was removed to Sidon, and the manufactory of the imperial purple was confined to Tyre. The conquest of Phœnicia and Syria in the seventh century by the Saracens led to the establishment of an imperial dye-house at Constantinople, the products of which are repeatedly mentioned in the writings of Anastasius, the librarian of the Vatican[3], under the popedom of Leo III.; but the Tyrian purple still enjoyed its former celebrity, and is among the articles of luxury imported by the Venetian merchants into Lombardy in the time of Charlemagne[4].

Under the tolerant and enlightened sway of the Caliphs, the civilization of Phœnicia suffered no decay. At the time of the Crusades, Tyre retained its ancient pre-eminence among the cities of the Syrian coast, and excited the admiration of the warriors of Europe by its capacious harbours, its wall, triple towards the land, and double towards the sea, its still active commerce, and the beauty and fertility of the opposite shore[5]. To the manufacture of glass was added that of sugar, which for its medicinal virtues was carried

[1] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 7, 32.

[2] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, 7, 417. The same earthquake created or improved the harbour of Botrys. See p. 11.

[3] A.D. 795. Schmidt, Forschungen, p. 207.

[4] Schmidt, u. s. The wine of Gaza was accounted a luxury at the court of Guntram, the Burgundian king. Gregor. Turon. 7, 29.

[5] Will. Tyr. Lib. 13, 3. See p. 345, note [4].

to the remotest parts of the world[1]. Joppa was at first the only harbour which the Christians possessed; but in the first ten years of the twelfth century, Baldwin, the successor of Godfrey on the throne of Jerusalem, reduced Antipatris, Cæsarea, Acre, Byblus, Tripolis, and Berytus. Sidon was induced to surrender (A.D. 1110) by the opportune arrival of a fleet from Norway manned by Crusaders, and commanded by the brother of the king, which, passing through the British Channel and the Straits of Gibraltar, anchored in the port of Joppa[2]. Tyre and Ascalon alone remained in the hands of the infidels. Baldwin collected his forces (A.D. 1111) for an attack on the former city; but the Norwegian fleet had returned home after the capture of Sidon, and the ships which he hastily collected from the sea-coast were of little value[3]. The city had a numerous garrison, the troops, withdrawn from places less defensible, having thrown themselves into Tyre. Sieges were still conducted after the ancient manner, with the battering-ram and the balista. The besiegers made repeated attacks upon the walls, had forced the first and second, and at last brought up against the third two wooden towers, of such a height as to command the interior of the city, and covered with hides of oxen and camels to prevent their being set on fire[4]; the besieged, however, had erected within towers of still greater height, from which they

[1] "Canamella, unde preciosissima usibus et saluti mortalium conficitur *zachara*: unde per institores ad ultimas orbis partes deportatur." Will. Tyr. u. s. In a dissertation of sixty pages, Ritter traces the diffusion of the sugar-cane from India to America (ix. 232–291), and the transformation of its product from a drug to one of the most important articles of national commerce.

[2] Will. Tyr. 11, 13.

[3] "Congregatis ex universa ora maritima navibus quotquot invenire potuit, classem ordinat *qualem qualem*." Will. Tyr. 11, 17.

[4] Alb. Aquens. 12, 6.

hurled Greek fire and combustibles of every kind upon the works of the Crusaders. Both the towers were utterly consumed. The approach of an army of 20,000 men from Damascus was announced, and after a siege of four months, Baldwin, despairing of success, drew off his army to Acre and Jerusalem. From Tiberias the Christians made incursions into the territory of Tyre; but Baldwin having built a fort on the site of Palæ-Tyrus[1], undertook no further enterprises against the maritime towns during the remainder of his reign. No reinforcements of ships and warriors arrived from the West, and the Christian power in the Holy Land was weakened by the dissensions of its chiefs. His successor, Baldwin II., was taken prisoner in the year 1123, and the Soldan of Egypt was encouraged to attack Joppa with a fleet of ninety sail. The barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem assembled at Acre, appointed Eustace de Grenier viceroy, and sent a pressing message to the Venetians, who had set out with a powerful armament for the East, but had halted on the way to besiege Corfu. Before their arrival, however, the Egyptians had raised the siege and retired on Ibelim, where 30,000 of them were totally defeated by 8000 Christians, animated by the presence of their bishops and their holiest relics. The Venetian fleet followed the Egyptian to Ascalon, and destroyed it in a battle before the walls of that fortress.

The presence of such powerful auxiliaries encouraged the Christians to undertake aggressive operations, but it was difficult to decide whether Ascalon or Tyre should be first attacked, the neighbours of each naturally considering it as the most formidable.

[1] The place was called Scandarion, a tradition of the siege by Alexander.

The dispute was settled by an appeal to Heaven. Two pieces of parchment were placed in a box upon the altar, on one of which was written "Tyre," and on the other "Ascalon." The child who was sent to make a choice, drew forth that which was inscribed "Tyre," and preparations were forthwith made for the siege, which began on the 15th of February, A.D. 1124. The Christians fortified themselves on the land side against the attempts to relieve the city which the Turks of Damascus might be expected to make, and began to construct machines with which to assail the walls. The population of Tyre, devoted to commerce, and become rich and luxurious by its means, was unwarlike[1]; but the garrison was composed of Damascenes and Egyptians, who put in force all the known means for obstructing the progress of the siege. The tower of the Christians was set on fire, and only saved from destruction by the heroism of a pilgrim, who ascended it amidst its own flames and the missiles of the Tyrians. They were skilful swimmers, and under cover of night swam to the guardship of the Venetians, cut the cable by which it was anchored, and fastening another to the vessel drew it to the shore. In expectation that the blockade by sea would be broken by a fleet from Egypt, or by land from Damascus, the Tyrians held out against assault and famine[2] till the month of June. But no effective aid came from either quarter. The commander of Damascus twice marched as far as the Leontes; but the first time he withdrew at the sight of the Christian army, and the second he came to propose terms of capitulation. They were

[1] Will. Tyr. 13, 7.
[2] Only five bushels of barley were found in the city when it surrendered. Wilken, 2, 512.

readily granted by the chiefs, though the common soldiers murmured that they were deprived of their hope of plunder, the infidels being allowed to remain in the city on payment of a moderate ransom, or to withdraw with their property. On the 25th of June the garrison marched out; the banners of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the republic of Venice, and the Count of Tripolis were hoisted on the towers, and Tyre once more became Christian. Its archbishopric was given four years after, with some diminution of the province, to William, an Englishman, and the best historian of the Holy Wars. Ascalon was not reduced till the year 1153, when it surrendered to Baldwin III., after a siege of eight months.

The kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been in a state of gradual decline during the twelfth century, notwithstanding the efforts made by Europe for its aid, was overthrown by Saladin in the year 1187, and the whole of the sea-coast would have fallen into his power but for the heroic defence of Tyre. The battle of Tiberias, in which the army of the Cross had been annihilated, and the king Lusignan taken prisoner, had spread consternation among the Christians; one city after another had opened its gates to the conqueror Conrad, the son of the Marquis of Montferrat, arrived off the harbour of Acre a few days after its surrender to the Saracens. He had heard nothing of the misfortunes of the Christians, but the light of the setting sun, falling on the banner of Saladin on the ramparts, showed him his danger, and with some difficulty he made his escape to Tyre.

The Count of Sidon, who had taken refuge there, and the Castellan of Tyre were negotiating with

Saladin for its surrender, and had already prepared to hoist his colours on the walls, as soon as he made his appearance before the gates. The people of Tyre, however, received Conrad with acclamations; the Count of Sidon fled to Tripolis, and preparations were made for the defence of the city. He cut a trench across the sandy isthmus to interrupt the communication with the shore[1], and constructed light vessels, covered with leather, and manned with archers who kept up such a destructive discharge, that no ship of the Saracens ventured to approach them. Saladin tempted Conrad to surrender by offers of money, by the promise of liberty to his father, who had been taken prisoner at Tiberias, and by the threat of exposing him to the missiles of the Tyrians. Finding these means ineffectual—for Conrad declared that he should regard his father's death as a glorious martyrdom—Saladin collected some ships to blockade Tyre by sea, and in the end of the month of December invested the city. Conrad had very few ships, but having possessed himself of some of Saladin's fleet, which he had enticed to enter the harbour by the hope of a surrender, he manned them with his own troops, and attacking the remainder, drove them on shore. The enemy had taken advantage of his temporary absence to attempt to scale the walls; but he promptly returned and compelled them to retire with the loss of a thousand men. Saladin on this raised the siege, and did not resume it in the following spring. The archbishop, William of Tyre, had been engaged in soliciting

[1] Abulfeda, quoted by Wilken, Gesch. der Kreuz. 4, 225. The depression in the sand, indicated in the Topography of Tyre, may be the line of this trench, enlarged by the action of the sea.

aid from the Christian powers of the West, and had prevailed on the king of Sicily to send a fleet to Tyre with 300 knights; other reinforcements arrived; the release of the captive king, Guy of Lusignan, gave unity to the Crusaders, and they became the assailants. In August of this year (A.D. 1189) the siege of Acre began, which ended, after a succession of extraordinary vicissitudes, in its capture by the united arms of Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur-de-Lion. By the pacification of August 1192, Joppa is fixed as the southern, and Tyre as the northern boundary of the Christian territories in Palestine.

Tyre continued to flourish as a commercial city during the succeeding century, chiefly through the activity of the Venetians. In return for the assistance which they had rendered to Baldwin II., they had obtained for themselves the concession of a third part of the city and its dependent territory, the right of being governed by their own magistrates and tried by their own tribunals, and various commercial privileges throughout the extent of the kingdom of Jerusalem; and they succeeded in maintaining these rights, though often infringed. Venice during this century was at the height of her power. She had partaken in the Latin conquest of Constantinople, and possessed the Peloponnesus, the Ionian islands, Crete, and numerous other territories in the Ægean or on its coasts. But she gave no effective aid to the Christian kingdom of Palestine, being wholly intent on commercial gain and aggrandizement. The existence of that kingdom was prolonged by the Crusades of the Emperor Frederic and Louis IX.; but it did not survive the thirteenth century. The rise of the Mameluke power

in Egypt was soon felt in the capture of Antioch (A.D. 1268), and the subsequent reduction of the principal towns of the sea-coast. A temporary respite was obtained by the second expedition of Louis IX. in 1270, and of the son of Henry III., afterwards Edward I. of England, in the following year. The dissensions which followed the death of the Soldan Bibars, by whom Antioch had been taken, delayed the catastrophe which the nations of the West took no means to avert[1]. A Crusade was preached by the command of Gregory X. in England, France, Germany, and the northern kingdoms, and Nicolas IV. sent from his own resources a fleet of twenty galleys and 3000 ounces of gold, but the enthusiasm which had responded to the call of Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard had burnt out. The sovereigns of Europe were absorbed by ambitious projects at home, or had learnt that their first duty was the administration of their own kingdoms. When the disputes occasioned by the death of Bibars were ended, the Soldan Kalavun resumed the attack on the remains of the Christian kingdom. Margaret, the widow of John de Montfort, who held the principality of Tyre, entered into an agreement with him, by which she bound herself to withdraw from all alliance with the Christian princes who harboured evil designs against the Soldan, to raise no new fortifications nor repair the old, and to divide with him the revenues of all territory which they might hold in common. Acre was again the scene on

[1] See Wilken, 2, 496. 7, 370. The mutual jealousies of the Venetians, the Genoese and the Pisans, and the selfishness of all, were among the causes of the decay of the Christian power in Palestine.

which the Christians and Saracens tried their strength. Kalavun died on the march from Egypt, but Ashraf, his son and successor, adopted his policy, and the siege was begun in the first week of April 1291. Since its reconquest by Philip and Richard, it had taken the place of Tyre as the great mart of the Syrian coast; every language of the East or West found an interpreter within its walls. It was far more strongly fortified than when it defied for two years the attacks of Saladin, and forces were assembled in it amply sufficient for its defence, had they been wielded with vigour and unanimity. But dissension reigned among them, and the Grand Master of the Templars would have surrendered the city, had not the people indignantly rejected the conditions. The Knights of St. John fought with great valour, and drove out the Saracens after they had obtained possession of a great part of the city; the Patriarch roused the courage of the Christians by an harangue, in which he set before them the glory of dying in defence of the heritage of Christ; even fear might counsel resistance, since the harbour contained only a few small vessels, on which not more than two hundred men could make their escape. The forces of the Saracens, however, were recruited after defeat, while those of the Christians were wasted without renewal. On the 18th of May 1291 the assault was repeated, and the whole city, with the exception of the fort of the Templars, was occupied by Ashraf, and this was delivered up to him by capitulation on the next day. The few places which the Christians still held in Syria attempted no defence. The Frank inhabitants of Tyre abandoned

it on the evening of the day on which Acre surrendered, and the Saracens entered it the following morning[1].

Othman, the founder of the present Turkish empire, began his reign in A.D. 1288, three years before the reduction of Syria by the Soldan of Egypt. From the conquest of Asia Minor and the Danubian provinces of the Greek empire, the Turks advanced in the middle of the fifteenth century to the capture of Constantinople (A.D. 1453), and spread a panic through Europe by the sack of Otranto in A.D. 1479. The progress of conquest was checked during the reign of Bajazid II.; but his successor, Selim I., in A.D. 1516, conquered Syria in a single campaign, and since that time it has been subject to the Ottomans, the most barbarous of all the conquerors by whom it has successively been subdued. The consequent decline of its prosperity has been rapid and complete. The insecurity of life and property has been fatal alike to manufacturing industry, to agriculture and to commerce; the traveller, if without arms or escort, has pursued his researches in perpetual danger of being plundered or killed, and with the certainty of vexatious delays and interruptions; the means of communication have been suffered to fall into decay, and no effort has been made to check the process by which nature is destroying the harbours of the coast. Neither sieges nor earthquakes have done so much as Turkish oppression and misrule to make Tyre what the traveller now sees, "a rock for fishermen to spread their nets upon."

The history of the Phœnician states has been treated

[1] Wilken, 7, 771.

too much from a polemical point of view. Their interests were in opposition to those of the Jews, who, regarding themselves as the favoured children of Providence, considered all hostility against their nation as impiety, and viewed with envy the riches which the science, the nautical and manufacturing skill, and the superior intelligence of Tyre and Sidon procured for their inhabitants. These feelings have been adopted by historians of other countries, and Phœnicia has been held up as an example of Divine vengeance on the arrogance, the luxury and the selfishness which commercial prosperity engenders. Yet no nation which enjoyed ascendency in the ancient world conferred such benefits on the rest of mankind, and at the same time inflicted upon it so little injury, as Phœnicia. Its settlements were usually peaceful; it rarely aimed at conquest, and it diffused from the East to the furthest West the knowledge of letters and the advantages of commerce. Though these advantages are in all cases reciprocal, each party is prone to regard itself as having the worst of the bargain, and the less acute and intelligent always suspects that it has been overreached in the exchange[1]. The state which has enriched itself by commerce—Tyre, Venice, Holland, England—is therefore always watched with jealousy by its poorer neighbours, and its downfall anticipated or recorded with triumph. The attacks of Shalmaneser and Nebuchadnezzar on Tyre were unprovoked, and dictated in great measure by ambition and rapacity, though

[1] The Jew used "Canaanite" for a fraudulent dealer (p. 232); the Phœnician called the Jew Βάῤῥων (Lyd. de Mag. 1, p. 28, ed. Hase), which Movers (1, 125) explains as בר און, "son of falsehood," and refers to their commercial transactions.

glossed with a plausible show of patriotism; their success would have deprived the world prematurely of the most efficacious instrument of its civilization. The sufferings of the Tyrians in the siege by Alexander were the result of fidelity to Persia; nor in this age were their national manners more corrupt than those of other countries. The final ruin of the Phœnician cities has not been the effect of internal causes of decay, but of their subjugation by a tribe of barbarians, which has nearly obliterated art, learning, commerce, and Christianity from their ancient seats in western Asia.

Another equally unfounded inference from the history of Phœnicia is the hollowness and instability of a national prosperity founded on commerce. The lesson taught by Tyre is the reverse of this; it flourished as a commercial city during at least twenty-five centuries; it fell because it was not strong enough to protect its riches against aggressors, and it rose again, after temporary depression, with an elasticity that has no parallel. The spring of that elasticity was its commerce. It might have revived and flourished, even under the Turkish sway, had not the trade of the world found new channels for itself, since the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and America, leaving dry many of its ancient seats on the shores of the Mediterranean.

NOTE.

Since the chapter on Phœnician commerce was written, I have learnt from the Catalogue of the Museum of Arts and Manufactures, published by the Government, that the glaze on the bricks of Babylon and Nemroud contains an oxide of tin. This metal was probably an article of commerce between Assyria and Tyre. The bricks are supposed to have been made 600–800 B.C.

In page 70, line 7, the reader is requested to correct *forty-eight* into *eighty-eight*.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES, ETC.

MAP OF PHŒNICIA.

THE principal points on the sea-coast of Syria have been given according to the "Maritime Positions" in Admiral Smyth's 'Mediterranean,' p. 469. For the interior of the country, from the frontier of Egypt to the latitude of Baalbek, authorities abound. North of Berytus the coast has been imperfectly explored, and the interior, through the greater part of the course of the Orontes, has been so rarely and hastily visited, that its geography is nearly conjectural. This, however, is of little importance as regards the history of Phœnicia. Even the sea-coast, north of Aradus, was slightly connected with its political system, the inland region not at all.

TOPOGRAPHY OF TYRE.

The Topography of Tyre is represented chiefly on the authority of Bertou, combined with the Admiralty charts. As Bertou twice resided in Syria, and has constructed his map by triangulation and a measured base, it probably may be relied upon, as far as relates to the actual state of things. But his views of the changes which the island and the isthmus have undergone are very hypothetical; and in particular, his account of the existence of the submarine breakwater to the south (see p. 351) cannot be received without more exact investigation. The principal points in the topography have been adverted to in the general description, p. 349–354, and in the account of the siege by Alexander. The reference of the letters and numbers on the Plan is as follows :—

A. A. Portions visible above water of the inner sea-wall of the northern harbour.

1. Entrance of the harbour, now obstructed by a bar and sunk columns.

2. 2. Original line of the sea-wall.

3. 3. Outer wall, now covered by the sea.
4. 4. 4. 4. Line of rocks, bordered on the west by the sea, on the east by a wall not of ancient construction.
5. Ledge of rocks, projecting 90 feet into the sea.
6. Columns united to the rock.
7. At this point the rock has been reached, below five feet of rubbish.
8. Ledge of rocks extending 200 yards into the sea.
9. Traces of a wall, the lowest stones of which have had irons attached to them, apparently for fastening vessels. Many fragments of pottery are found among the ruins of the wall.
10. Mass of masonry, the presumed entrance of the canal from the Cothon. A corresponding mass is found on the opposite side of the entrance.
11. 11. 11. The walls of the Cothon, which rise a little above the level of the sea. The facing is of very large stones; the interior, rubble with fragments of pottery. The breadth of the walls about 25 feet.
12. 12. Portions of wall overturned in the water.
13. Small rocky islets.
14. Supposed submarine dyke of Bertou.
15. Commencement of the isthmus of loose sand, which covers several yards of the wall of the Cothon.
16. Angle of the ancient wall of circumvallation and probable limit of the island towards the east.

PLATE I.

The Phœnician Alphabet is given from Gesenius, Monumenta Punica, and Judas, Étude Démonstrative. The alphabet of the old Hebrew coins here exhibited, after examples in the Cabinet of Medals at Paris, is from Munk's Palestine; the letters which do not occur on them, and which are distinguished by a different character,—*Zain, Teth, Samech* and *Phe,*—are introduced from the MSS. of the Samaritan Pentateuch. These coins are of the age of the Maccabees, and exhibit the name of the High Priest, with the date of the year of the Deliverance of Israel (B.C. 142) and ירושלם הקדושה, "The Holy Jerusalem." A palm, a lily, or a vase is a frequent device, or the front of a building, probably the Mausoleum erected by Simeon at Modin to his brothers. 1 Macc. 13, 27.

PHŒNICIAN, HEBREW & GREEK ALPHABETS.

Phœnician	Early Hebrew	Later Hebrew	Early Greek
		א	
		ב	
		ג	
		ד	
		ה	
		ו	Digamma
	Sam.n	ז	See Samech
		ח	
	Sam.n	ט	
		י	
		כ ך	
		ל	
		מ ם	
		נ ן	
	Sam.n	ס	
		ע	
	Sam.n	פ ף	
		צ ץ	Episemon for 900
		ק	
		ר	
		ש	
		ת	

ARITHMETICAL NOTATION AND COINS

1 2 3 4 6 12 14 20

30 10 20 40 50 100 200

1

ΑΛ
ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ
ΘΕΑΣ

2

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ
ΤΥΡΙΩΝ

3

ΤΥΡ. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛ

4

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

5

6

7

8

9

The derivation of the Greek alphabet from the Phœnician is unquestionable. The oldest forms of Greek letters hitherto discovered are those of the inscriptions found in the islands of Thera and Melos (Franz, Epigr. p. 51), both of which were colonized by the Phœnicians (see pp. 95, 96 of this volume). They are supposed to be of the age of Solon and Pisistratus. Herodotus tells us, that in their adaptation to a new language, changes in the form of the letters also took place (ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλον οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. 5, 58). The history of these changes to the time of Simonides, by whom the Greek alphabet was brought to the form in which it remained, is uncertain. As exhibited in our Plate, it does not contain υ, φ, χ, ψ, or ω, which by their place at the end of the alphabet manifest that they are a comparatively recent addition (see p. 163); ξ occupies the place of *samech*, and one of its forms closely resembles that letter in the Phœnician alphabet; but another resembles one form of *zain*, and at the same time the Latin S, which leads to the supposition that these three sounds differed only by a greater thickness or fineness of pronunciation.

PLATE II.

The system of Arithmetical Notation here represented has been explained (p. 229). *Ten*, besides the horizontal stroke by which it is usually denoted, has a specific mark. The following are the explanations of the Phœnician coins which have been selected, chiefly with a view to illustrate the local varieties of the alphabetical character.

1. An autonomous coin of Sidon, with the figure of a trireme, and the inscription in Phœnician characters, לצדנם, "of the Sidonians." On the other side is the head of the goddess, turreted. The Greek letters A Λ (31) denote the date, but the æra from which it is reckoned is doubtful.

   Other coins of Sidon exhibit Europa riding on a bull; Astarte with a star (see Extracts from Sanchoniatho, p. 335); Bacchus with the cista, diota and thyrsus; or the front of a tetrastyle temple, probably that which Lucian (D. S. c. 4) speaks of, dedicated to Astarte. See p. 303, note [1].

2. A coin of Tyre, of the reign of Antiochus IV., exhibiting a trireme with two rudders and *acrostolium*, or stern orna-

ment. The legend in Phœnician characters is לצר אם צדנם, "of Tyre, mother of the Sidonians," Sidonians being probably used in the general sense of Phœnicians. The Hebrew אם answers to the Greek *μητρόπολις*, a title which Tyre receives in the inscription quoted p. 348, note [1], and on many of its coins.

3. This coin of Gordian might seem at first sight to exhibit a representation of the *stelæ* of Hercules, and the tree of the Hesperides guarded by the serpent. In other coins of the same age and type, however, water appears to flow from beneath the two stones, and the legend AMBPOCIE ΠETPE shows that they represent the Ambrosian (Divine) Rocks of Tyre, with the olive and the serpent twined around it, as described in the following verses of the poet Nonnus (Dionys. 40, 467), where Hercules exhorts Bacchus and his companions to sail on :—

> *Εἰσόκε χῶρον ἵκοισθε μεμορμένον, ὁππόθι δισσαὶ*
> *'Ασταθέες πλώουσιν ἀλήμονες εἰν ἁλὶ πέτραι*
> *Ἃς φύσις 'Αμβροσίας ἐπεφήμισεν, αἷς ἔνι θάλλει*
> *Ἥλικος αὐτοῤῥιζον ὁμόζυγον ἔρνος ἐλαίης——*
> *Καὶ φυτὸν ὑψιπέτηλον ἕλιξ ὄφις ἀμφιχορεύει.*

The epithet *ἀσταθέες* is supposed to allude to the earthquakes by which Tyrc was often shaken, whence it is called "Tyros instabilis" by Lucan, Pharsalia, 3, 217. The *purpura* and the dog in the exergue refer to the mythe of the discovery of the purple dye, which has been given (p. 244). The coins of this age exhibit much more frequent allusions to the mythic history of Tyre than those of earlier date; e. g. Cadmus killing the serpent with a stone; Hercules with his club and lion's skin, and a fire burning on an altar; Hercules Astrochiton, who had a special temple at Tyre; Ocean, as an emblem of his conquest of Spain; Astarte and Dido. Eckhel, D.N.P.1.V.3. p. 379. Rasche, s. v. Tyrus.

4. Coin of Laodicea, with legend of Antiochus IV. A monogram and date Λ A. The figure of Neptune refers it to Laodicea *ad Mare*, not Laodicea *ad Libanum*. See p. 3. The Phœnician letters, which are remarkably distinct, read ללאדכא אם בכנען, "of Laodicea, a metropolis in Canaan." This coin shows that the name of metropolis

was assumed by towns of much inferior importance to Tyre and Sidon.

5. Coin of Tarsus; Jupiter seated with a sceptre; in the field an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes. The legend, which exhibits the Cilician type of the Phœnician character, reads בעל תרז, "Baal of Tarsus." See p. 300.

6. Coin of Panormus; the head of a horse and a palm-tree. The legend is עם מחנת, "People of Machanath." This last word signifies in Hebrew 'a camp;' comp. Gen. 32, 2. That it belongs to Panormus is inferred from the coin being found in great numbers in the neighbourhood of Palermo. The type of the horse's head and palm belongs also to Syracuse, to which city some refer the coin.

7. Coin of Heraclea, otherwise Minoa in Sicily; a man in a quadriga with a Victory holding a crown. The legend is רש מלקרת, "Head (*Ras*, promontory) of Melkarth," from whom the promontory Heracleum (Strabo, 6, 266) had its name.

8. Coin of Gades, with the tunny-fish (see p. 225). The legend is מבעל אגדר, "From the citizens of (Aggadir, Gadeira) Gades." The omission of the plural termination י is observed in other Phœnician coins.

9. Coin of Cossyra. On the obverse a Cabirus, an emblem of metallurgy; he holds a hammer in one hand, and serpent in the other, and wears a smith's apron, or succinct tunic. The legend on the reverse is אי בנם, "Island of the youths," the Cabiri being generally represented under a youthful, or at least diminutive form. (See p. 327.) The three characters in the lower part are found on all the coins of Cossyra, but their import is unknown.

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